

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW



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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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COMMENTS ON THE SOCIETY AND THE REVIEW

I want to tell you how glad I am to become acquainted with your *Missouri Historical Review* of which I have already received the October and January numbers. It is most attractively gotten up, and has such interesting reading matter I should think all the families in Missouri would want it. Your format and illustrations are so fine, and I think your cover is the most attractive I have ever seen.—MARY HOWELL WELLS, Upper Montclair, N. Y.

We enjoy the Review and appreciate your efforts in recording Missouri data.—MRS. J. M. RICHARDSON, Warsaw.

The best thing I've done in a long time was to join the State Historical Society of Missouri, I surely enjoyed the first issue that I received January, 1952. What past issues are available?—L. E. OBERHOLTZ, Kansas City.

The January issue reached me last week and the October, 1951, issue came last Monday . . . It is the first time I've seen your *Review* in its new "dress" which seems to give it life, which, of course, is so necessary in keeping history alive. . . We thoroughly appreciate the whole *Review*. Congratulations.—MRS. HARRY L. MEYER, Alton, Ill.

As my students in the course, Speech 489, History and Criticism of American Public Address, conclude another semester's work, I want to express my continued appreciation of the very fine cooperation we have with the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.—BOWER ALY, Columbia.

Your article in recent issues of the *Review* on museums and museum collections interests me a great deal. . . The same type of survey and ensuing article might be of considerable interest to the people of this area.—A. R. MORTENSEN, executive secretary of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

I believe your new booklet is excellent and will be enjoyed by an ever widening circle of readers.—WILLIAM J. PETERSEN, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

Congratulations on the new format of the *Review*, the current copy of which reached me today.—ARTHUR C. HOSKINS, St. Louis.

Wow, wow, wow! Zowie! And other unscholarly expressions of extreme admiration. Never have I seen a query regarding documentation so completely, swiftly, and accurately answered. Half the time the answer one gets is that the notes are unfortunately mislaid.—JOHN BAKELESS, Seymour, Conn.

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BRIGADIER SURGEON JOHN W. TRADER'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI

EDITED BY FREDERIC A. CULMER*

John W. Trader, the son of the Rev. Moses Trader, came with his family from Xenia, Ohio, to north Missouri in 1840 when he was three years of age. He graduated from the Missouri Medical College in the spring of 1860 and began service with voluntary Union groups, later (1863) becoming a brigade surgeon in the First Cavalry Regiment, Missouri State Militia, during the Civil War.

Dr. Trader was twice married. His first wife, Miss Lucy A. W. Wyatt, of Kentucky, died during the war, leaving no children. His second wife, Miss Tillie E. Batterton, of Danville, Kentucky, was a sister to the wife of acting Brigadier General John F. Philips, with whose brigade Dr. Trader served in the battles of Westport and Mine Creek. Seven children were born to this marriage. At this writing a son, Dr. C. B. Trader, and two daughters, Mrs. O. J. Schien and Mrs. Christopher Fletcher, are living in or near Sedalia.¹

Dr. Trader resigned from military service in May, 1865, and visited Europe in the interest of his profession. From 1867 until his death in 1907, Dr. Trader practiced his profession in Sedalia. During the years 1876-1877 he was president of the Missouri State Medical Association.²

Thirty years after the Civil War he wrote an account of his experiences in that conflict on the page margins of several volumes of one of his histories—*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: Century Co., 1887), Vols. I and IV. These books were given to the editor by the doctor's daughter, Mrs. Christopher Fletcher, and have now been given to the State Historical Society of Missouri. The narrative is reproduced below in the doctor's own words with the exception of the material in brackets which was supplied by the editor.

*FREDERIC A. CULMER, a native of England, has been professor of history and political science at Central College, Fayette, Mo., since 1915. He received a B. A. degree from Central in 1916, an M. A. from the University of Missouri in 1919, and a Ph. D. from Centenary College, in 1928. He has contributed several articles to the *Missouri Historical Review*.

¹Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrle, *An Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis, Hall, 1876), pp. 607-8; *Missouri Historical Review*, I (July, 1907), 318; *Kansas City Times*, Feb. 20, 1951.

²Davis and Durrle, *op. cit.* pp. 607-8.

THE RECOLLECTIONS

The events of 1860-65 [so Doctor Trader of Sedalia, Missouri, begins his story] will always remain a pleasant memory to those who stood by the "Old Flag" in those trying times. In 1859-60 I was a student in the Missouri Medical College. The excitement caused by the John Brown raid [Oct. 16, 1859] had raised the disunion sentiment in St. Louis to fever heat. Brown had been hung in effigy on the street, and the slave element was overawing everything. Dr. Joseph M. McDowell, dean of the college, commenced to organize an artillery company. Students were urged to join. The disposition to please, especially among those expecting to graduate, soon filled the company to the maximum. The day was set for mustering, and the cannon arrived from Jefferson City. They were at the railroad station.

Before the arrival of the mustering officer, the graduating class had passed their examinations and were awaiting their diplomas. The day after commencement we were requested to meet at the college to exchange diplomas where the wrong ones had been given to some. We found the mustering officer in attendance. We were instructed that when our names were called we could step a few paces to the rear if we did not wish to be mustered. With several others, I backed out. This company was among those captured at Camp Jackson.

In the spring of 1861 our sheriff received orders to enroll the militia in our county [Putnam]. Quite a large number refused and set about the organization of the Union men. We simply drew up a form explaining our design and signed it. Major Dixon, [Dickson?] a man of seventy years, but full of fire and patriotism, was our captain. After our numbers reached 120, it was thought best to make two companies, and late in the summer of 1861, I was chosen captain of one. We elected for first sergeant a soldier of the Mexican War who had some knowledge of drill. . . He assisted me in getting the men into line.* I was fortunate in getting a copy of. . . *Tactics*, which I faithfully studied. We drilled every week. Some had to ride fifteen or twenty miles each week, but we rarely had to report absentees.

*Mexican War veterans were sought as officers by both Union and Confederate groups. John McCorkle, *Three Years with Quantrell* (Armstrong, Mo., Armstrong Herald, [c 1914]), p. 8.

Before the organization of the second company we were ordered to repel an invasion from N. W. Missouri. We assembled about four miles from Unionville, Putnam County, Missouri, under the command of Major Dixon, proceeded to the town and placed the flag on the courthouse. We were called out several times and kept up our drills until the cold weather set in. In the spring we decided to join the volunteer forces, but we had no rallying point. General [Benjamin M.] Prentiss, hearing of our company, sent a couple of soldiers from his headquarters at Palmyra, to find out our intentions. They advised us to join the volunteers gathering along the Hannibal Railroad.⁴

Early in March, 1862, we started for Laclede, Linn County, some 75 miles south of us. The ice was breaking up and the streams were full. We hastened on, swimming the streams with our horses. The weather was so cold that our clothes froze soon after coming out of the water. We never halted or unsaddled until we reached our destination, tired, hungry, and nearly frozen. Leaving at break of day we arrived about ten o'clock at night. We were assigned to the 1st Battalion, 1st Regiment, Missouri Cavalry Militia, and had clothing, rations, horse and camp equipage issued the next day.

Everything put on the martial air, and the bugle calls soon brought us into the realities of camp life. I was requested by Lieutenant Colonel Alex M. Woolfolk to act as surgeon for the battalion during its formative period. The men of my acquaintance requested that I be appointed the regular Assistant Surgeon of the regiment. I was notified that I must be examined as to my qualifications. I went to St. Louis, passed the examinations, and was duly mustered in the 1st Regiment Cavalry, M. S. M., and assigned to Colonel Woolfolk's battalion.

After getting the hospital established at Laclede, I was ordered to accompany a detachment to operate with General [John H.] McNeil in North Missouri. We went to a small town called Shelbina, where we struck the trail of Colonel [Joseph C.] Porter's forces. We followed that night to Paris. Porter surrounded the town and kept us housed all day. Late in the afternoon his pickets were withdrawn and we set out following the trail. When they crossed a bottom prairie, they made a trail some 100 feet wide, and broke

⁴A vital Union objective was to keep the railroads of North Missouri open. *Battles*, I. 92; Floyd C. Shoemaker, "In the Time of Civil War," Ch. IV in Walter Williams (ed.), *A History of Northeast Missouri* (Chicago, Lewis, 1913), I. 50.

the sod as if it had been ploughed. We numbered about 400, with 2 pieces of artillery—2 lb. Mt. Howitzers. The supposition was that Porter had 2 to 3 thousand. We scrimmaged with him at Newark next day. He captured our outpost, killing 2 or 3, and wounding 8 or 10. About this time [Brigadier General Lewis] Merrill's Horse joined us with some 1200 men and 2 pieces of brass, 12 lbs., rifled.⁵

At Kirksville we overhauled him and fought a desperate battle, from ten a.m. until sunset. [August 6, 1862].⁶ Our loss was some 15 or 20 killed and near 100 wounded. Among those wounded was General McNeil. The rebel loss was 300 killed and 1500 wounded. The captain who had charge of the burying party told me that he had buried over 200 in one ditch. I visited two of the churches and their wounded filled the body of the church, with all the pews taken out; they were lying on the floor on straw as thick as sardines in a box. We followed up next day and picked up many stragglers and 2 wagon loads of small arms, some as fine double shotguns of English make as I ever saw. I left the command at Macon City and returned to Laclede with my wounded.

August and September, 1862,—General McNeil gave me quite a compliment for services on the field.⁷ From here [Laclede] our regiment, the 1st M. S. M., was ordered to reinforce the post at Lexington, Mo., September 1862. I went from the H. and St. Joe Railroad by way of Richmond, and by stage. I assisted in the surgical ward under the surgeon, Major C. Osborn. My first surgery was done at this [Lexington] hospital. I amputated the finger of a guard who accidentally shot himself. All went out upon outpost duty, and followed Price's forces, who fought the Lone Jack battle under [Colonel Vard] Cockrell and [Colonel Jo] Shelby, [August 16, 1862] as far as Holden, Johnson County.⁸ Our battalion

⁵The outpost at Newark consisted of seventy-five men. "Four killed and seven wounded." *Paris Mercury*, August 8, 1862.

⁶Much of the fighting at the Battle of Kirksville apparently was done by Union forces at artillery range. Confederate participants mention shotguns. Porter's forces were poorly armed. Joseph A., Mudd, *With Porter in North Missouri* (Washington, D.C., Nat. Pub. Co., 1909), Chap. XXI. Colonel Porter's chief purpose seems to have been recruitment.

⁷"Justice to those who did their whole duty would not be done were I to omit to mention Dr Lyon, Surgeon of the Second Regiment, and Doctor Trader, Assistant Surgeon of the First Missouri." General McNeil, in Mudd, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

⁸General Price himself had not been in Missouri since the early spring of 1862. After taking Lexington from Union forces, September 20, 1861, he retreated to the Springfield area and finally went into Arkansas. Eugene M. Violette, *A History of Missouri* (Boston, Heath, 1918), pp. 365-7, 371.

was under the command of Lt. Colonel Woolfolk. During this expedition I led a charge on some stragglers, contrary to the order of the captain, and would have been court-martialed had it not been for the colonel and Major [Alex W.] Mullins, who did not think such severe treatment due me. Some of our officers were averse to fighting and getting hurt; I took it upon myself to lead the charge. The captain who wanted me arrested was of this class.

From Lexington we went to Sedalia, November 1862, and about March or April [1863], to Harrisonville, Cass County; from there to Germantown, and back to Harrisonville. Then to Lexington, then to Marshall. Fought Shelby at this point. I was Asst. Surgeon, 1st M. S. M. Cav., during this engagement [October 13, 1863]. On the night before the battle we were attacked by General Shelby^{*} about sundown. The second shot from Shelby's gun amputated both legs of one of our gunners. Colonel [Bazel F.] Lazear immediately mounted the cavalry and tried to form a battle line, but the darkness and rain and thick brush delayed any formation that night. I was so worn out I buttoned my overcoat about me and lay down in a fence corner in the pelting rain and was soon asleep. Colonel Lazear, coming along in the darkness, ran square up against my horse. As the bridle rein was over my arm, the movement woke me. The Colonel was using some very emphatic language. He yelled out, "Get up and mount! What are you doing here?!" I told him who I was and he very kindly apologized. He told me he had been ordered to form his cavalry, but that he found it to be nearly impossible. It would be daylight before he could get them straightened out. [He thought] I would better go to the rear to a house where General [Egbert B.] Brown was, and try to get some rest. I hastily obeyed this very agreeable order and was soon in bed and asleep.

The Medical Director was getting his first experience in actual field service. He kept waking me up to tell me he believed we would have a battle, and I had better get up. I managed to hold the fort and at day [October 13, 1863] I got up and went out to my horse.

^{*}Colonel Jo Shelby did not become a Confederate brigadier-general until 1864. For this raid into Missouri Price had detached Shelby's force from his army, then in Arkansas, in September, 1863. Shelby came partly as a feint to draw Federal troops from the Arkansas Valley, and partly on a foraging expedition. Floyd C. Shoemaker (ed.), *Missouri Day By Day* (State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942), II, 424; *Battles*, IV, 374.

I mounted, expecting to join my own battalion, but the Medical Director had me remain with the General. I followed the section of artillery commanded by Major [Henry S.] Suess, into Marshall, to find that Col. Lazear had routed the enemy, capturing his gun, an old smooth bore that was with General [Zachary] Taylor in Mexico.

Lieutenant Colonel Lazear, 1st M. S. M. Cav., with a battalion of the 1st., and Major William Gentry, with a battalion of Home Guards, fought this battle to a finish. General Brown, with 7th and 4th M. S. M. Cav., shelled the rear of Shelby. They procured a guide and crossed Salt River some two miles below the bridge at Marshall, and came in on the right and rear of Col. Lazear. The rebels now gave way and divided their forces, [Colonel] Gordon and [Colonel] Coffee recrossed the Salt River bridge and retreated on the line of our march. Major Suess of the 7th., with two 2 lbs. Howitzers, passed over the bridge towards Marshall; the timber and uneven ground hid us from view. The Major had no support. I rode over with him. We stood perfectly still on our horses until the heavy firing ceased in front, and then made our way into the town. I then joined my regiment and followed the retreating foe to the Harrison County line.³⁰ I was [afterwards] kept busy traversing the state doing police duty until Price's raid of [September-October] 1864.

How little of the campaigning and history of the armies of the West has ever been written! While not lacking in heroic men and heroic deeds, the soldiers of the West were notoriously lacking in that necessary adjunct in every army and squadron of the East, namely "The Army Correspondent!"

In this campaign [to repel General Sterling Price in 1864] I was ordered, after leaving Jefferson City, to join my regiment near Lexington, Missouri. I was with the troops of General [Alfred] Pleasanton,³¹ and without any supplies, as all my medical stores

³⁰Colonel B. F. Lazear wrote to his wife an account of Shelby's defeat, about a week after the engagement. Doctor Trader's remarks lend support to Lazear's estimate of his own contribution to the victory. Lazear felt that due credit was not then given to him. *Battles*, IV, 374 and n.; Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 863-4; V. K. McLarty, "Civil War Letters of Col. Bazel F. Lazear," *Missouri Historical Review*, 44 (July, 1950), 364-7.

³¹General Alfred Pleasanton served in the Department of Missouri from March 23, 1864, to the end of the Civil War. *Battles*, IV, 106. General Price entered Ripley County from Arkansas, and marched north to Franklin County. He then turned west and proceeded along the south side of the river towards Kansas City. After his defeat at Westport, Price retreated into Arkansas.

had been captured by General John B. Clark while in transit from Lexington to Jefferson City.¹² General [John B.] Sanborn, [John] McNeil, and [Clinton B.] Fisk were with General Pleasanton.

We shipped our horses and equipage from Jefferson City by Mo. Pac. Ry., to the Lamine, where we disembarked on account of the burning of the railroad bridge. We were all mounted by daylight and on the west side of the Lamine we soon came up with the infantry of General A. J. Smith. The General invited us to breakfast. As we had no rations and no prospect of any until much later, we gladly accepted the hospitality. After breakfast we hurried on and about noon of the next day I reported to my regiment.

Soon after I was ordered to report to headquarters as Brigadier Surgeon. I began immediately the organization of the hospital. I knew from indications that hard work was before us. At Independence we first encountered the enemy. [October 22, 1864]. My brigade was ordered forward and order given for attack. A battalion of the 7th and 4th was dismounted under Lieutenant Colonel [Thomas T.] Crittenden of the 7th M. S. M. Just as they dismounted Lieutenant Mullins of the 1st M. S. M. was shot through the abdomen, about 30 steps from where I was sitting with the the General and Staff. I dismounted to go to my friend. The leaden hail was so thick I had to squat as I ran, to save my life. A soldier took one arm and I the other and we dragged him to the roadside behind a large oak tree. . . . The Lieutenant recognized my voice and said, "I am dying?" I could only reply, "Yes." "Tell my brother, the Major, where to find me." By this time we were in a perfect shower of lead, and men were dragging the wounded about me. I ordered all to be taken into a small brick dwelling nearby. I put the Lieutenant on a bed and made him as comfortable as possible.

I heard a commotion among the ambulance drivers. It proved to be a commander of the Confederate forces, Colonel Young, mortally wounded. . . .and forbidding my men to touch him. I soon ended the trouble by ordering him to be placed in an ambulance and sent to the house of a friend who knew him.

At nine o'clock that night I found the Major [A. W. Mullins] as I was making my way to the front. I delivered the Lieutenant's

¹²John B. Clark, from Howard County, Missouri, was a brigadier-general of Confederate Missouri State troops.

message. As my ambulance train was halted, I concluded to lie down and get some sleep. The shouting of men and the neighing of horses did not prevent me. I had been mounted all day without food or rest.

By noon [Sunday, October 23] we were moving rapidly to the ford of the Big Blue, a few miles from [west of] Independence, where the battle was renewed in earnest. The cannonading was a fearful thing. Many of the shots were overleaping the timber ridges and falling in the rear of the cavalry. I hurried on to the front with an orderly and established my flag on the banks of the stream just after our men had passed over. The rebel line was plain to be seen some three hundred yards up the timber ridge. Lieutenant Colonel Crittenden was ordered to dismount the 7th cavalry,¹³ and move one column across the stream immediately following the line of skirmishes which seemed to be driving the enemy, who very stubbornly gave way as the main body under Colonel Crittenden advanced. The Colonel received a spent ball on his belt buckle which knocked him down. Soldier near raised him up, and I was going to send him to the ambulance, but he would not consent and [went] on with his regiment.

I felt comparatively secure here as we were out of rifle range. The wounded were being brought in rapidly. I soon had the bank of the stream covered with them. I was soon in sight of the battle line. Galloping up in the rear where Colonel [John F.] Philips and Staff were standing—the Colonel relieved General [E. B.] Brown—I reported. I was ordered to keep well up in the rear of the brigade. As I started back I noticed [General John B.] Sanborn's brigade deploying as they marched on in front of our brigade, who had had the lead from Independence and were well tired out.¹⁴

As I moved up my ambulance train General Sanborn sent his Adjutant to request me to look after his dead and wounded as he did not know where to find his surgeons. I noticed several drop out, either dead or wounded, and ordered the ambulance to pick

¹³Acting Brigadier General John F. Philips writes that the Confederates cut down trees, sharpened the points of the limbs, and faced them to the enemy. H. H. Crittenden, *The Battle of Westport, and National Memorial Park* (Kansas City, Mo., Lowell, 1938), p. 41. This was an ancient device to break up a cavalry attack. The British used it with devastating effect against French archer cavalry in 1415, at the Battle of Agincourt. David Hume (ed), *History of England*, (New York, Harpers, 1879), II, 334.

¹⁴"Sunday, October 23—Pleasanton. . . put me [Philips] in command of brigade." General Brown had been wounded; his left arm hung limp. Philips thought it had "sapped his nerve." Philips' "Diary," pp. 25-6, in Crittenden, *Battle of Westport*. See also pp. 39, 43.



Field Hospital in the Civil War.

them up, and take them to a farmhouse nearby. Confederate dead and wounded were there, and some 15 or 20 Confederate surgeons who had been captured by our brigade. I was formally introduced to these gentlemen, and requested them to assist in caring for their wounded. This, they kindly agreed to do, but informed me that they had no supplies. I ordered supplies out of my wagons, and then requested Major Short to keep up with the brigade. We marched until about midnight, when we stopped to allow the men to get something to eat, and to bury one of our captains who was killed early that morning while leading the skirmishes at the Battle of the Big Blue. We buried the captain near a small town called Santa Fe in Kansas. We marched with our brigade all next day [October 24] in the rear. Near night, as we approached a place called Papinsville, our brigade was ordered in the advance. About midnight, as we approached the river, it began sprinkling rain.¹⁵

¹⁵A "Captain Blair of Fourth" is mentioned by Brigadier General Phillips as having been killed on October 23. "Monday, October 24. . . rations of hard bread came up. Men half starved. . . Overtook [Generals] Pleasanton and Curtis at a branch in the night, enjoying a sumptuous supper. It made my hungry palate dilate, but got nothing to eat." Phillips' *Diary*, pp. 26-27. "Sanborn in advance came upon enemy and could not drive him. Tues. October 25. . . Blivouacked in a cold drenching rain. . . Brisk fighting at Marals des Cygnes. Enemy driven on. Here I was ordered to take the advance. Passed Benteen's and Sanborn's brigade. . .

While riding along with Colonel Philips, Commander 1st Brigade, at the head of the column, firing began in front, one or two shots, then several up and down the river, which told us that we were up with the enemy and had struck his main picket line. The command was halted and preparations made for attack. Soon as day came [October 25] we moved out and did not meet any opposition on this [north] side the river, [Marais des Cygnes] which we passed over and through the timber out into the prairie. About a mile beyond the river we turned a point in the road near Twin Mounds, which rose on our left to the height of 200 feet in sugar loaf form. About half a mile beyond Price had his men in line of battle. [They were] dismounted and standing 3 or 4 hundred yards along a small creek called Mine Creek. As soon as our column appeared in view the Confederate opened on us with six pieces of cannon, which was in front of the battle line. The solid shot struck the mounds over our heads and fairly shook the earth. As we were ready the bugles sounded the charge and 2 or 3 thousand cavalry swooped down upon them and captured the whole outfit before they could reload and fire again. The prisoners taken amounted to between 12 and 15 hundred, with two general officers and their staff, and six pieces of artillery. We followed up our success as related by Colonel [Wiley] Britton [6th Kansas Cavalry] on pages 374-7 of this volume. [Battles, Vol. IV.]¹⁸

In May, 1865, [after his regiment, with its officers, had been mustered out], I was ordered to report to Major Carpenter, Medical Director, on board the steamer *Baltic*, then at St. Louis, and proceed to New Orleans. I had entered the U. S. Medical Corps after leaving the Volunteer service, and had been assigned to duty at Jefferson Barracks with the rank of Acting Asst. Surgeon, U. S. We passed down the Mississippi when it was out of its banks. We halted at Cairo for coaling. The wharf was flooded and the wooden

¹⁸Doctor Trader is describing here the fight known as the Battle of Mine Creek. Retreating south from Westport, Price's army veered off into Kansas; the battle was fought in Linn County of that state. Among various recorders who were present, estimates and details differ. There was a subsequent fight at Newtonia, Missouri, and Price retreated into Arkansas.

On October 5, 1864, Edward Bates of St. Louis, then in Washington as attorney general, wrote that the guerrillas of Missouri were "all up by concert with Price's invasion." General Price, however, requested Quantrill's guerrillas to leave the Battle of Westport; Union soldiers were giving Shelby's men only guerrilla status, and were shooting all prisoners. Guerrilla Captain Dave Poole [Quantrill was absent] withdrew the men; they went into Arkansas. McCorkle, *op. cit.* pp. 126-127. Carl Noren, "Through Land of the Osages," in *Rivers of Missouri*, ed. by Dan Saults (Columbia, Mo., Mo. Conservation Commission), p. 12.

sidewalks would give way when stepped on. One of our medical officers got a ducking. He thought I was lacking in chivalry because I did not plunge in and save him. As he went down between the planks, by spreading his arms he managed to save his "bacon." It being night and the paths tortuous, we lost our way. The *Baltic* steamed out. Our absence was soon noted; the vessel was ordered to stop. The engineer kept up an unearthly shriek to guide us to the steamer. We got on board pretty much after the manner of General Grant after the Battle of Belmont.¹⁷

The old flagstaff of Fort Pillow¹⁸ was to be seen on the bluff. The river was policed by gunboats, and some distance below here we pulled one off a sandbar. The commander, I think Colonel Ellet,¹⁹ came aboard with his staff, and gave us the first news that we had of the capture of Jeff Davis.²⁰ Instead of continuing our journey to New Orleans, we were ordered to stop at Vickburg, and take on board the remaining prisoners from Andersonville, who had just arrived. We loaded up some 300 of these poor sick creatures, brought them to St. Louis and put them in ward at Jefferson Barracks. I never witnessed suffering to exceed that of these men, who were suffering from disease and the terrors of starvation.²¹

On our way north, when near Memphis, we encountered the floating bodies of the soldiers who had perished by the blowing up of the *Sultana*. The channel and in fact the whole river was full of these poor comrades who had lost their lives after going through the war, most of them sick and wounded. We had a great deal of

¹⁷Of his experience at the Battle of Belmont, (November 7, 1861) General Grant wrote: "I was the only man of the National army between the rebels and our transports. The captain of a boat that had just pushed out. . . had a plank run out for me. . . My horse put his fore feet over the bank, and . . . slid down the bank and trotted aboard the boat, twelve or fifteen feet away, over a single gangplank." Doctor Trader and his friend of course had to do their own sliding. Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, (New York, Webster, 1885), I, 278-9.

¹⁸Fort Pillow, Tenn., on the river bluffs forty miles above Memphis, was taken by Union forces after the gunboat Battle of Memphis, on June 6, 1862. Confederate forces recaptured it on April 12, 1864. Half of the garrison of 550 men were colored soldiers. *Battles*, I, 449; IV, 107-8, 415, 418.

¹⁹Colonel Charles Ellet, commander of the Union ram fleet, died on June 21, 1862, from a wound received at the Battle of Memphis. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Lieutenant Colonel Alfred W. Ellet, later Brigadier General, U.S.V. If Doctor Trader's memory is correct, this officer was the visitor to the *Baltic*. *Battles*, I, 450, 453, 454, 453.

²⁰Jefferson Davis was captured May 10, 1865.

²¹In the year 1864 there were 34,000 Federal prisoners at Andersonville, Sumter County, Georgia. *Battles*, I, 342; IV, 766 n. Here Doctor Trader has signed his name and added: "31 years after 7 July 1896."

trouble to keep from running over them, as they were raising to the surface every few minutes. The river was full of skiffs and men gathering up the dead.²⁸ We did not stop. Our own sick were in such bad condition we were anxious to get them to the hospital. They had almost every disease; many of them had the smallpox. We stopped on a Sabbath morning and buried all our dead on an island below St. Louis. We unloaded at Jefferson Barracks and then proceeded to St. Louis and went about cleaning and repainting decks. I then resigned and left the service.

All marginal notes [Doctor Trader adds] in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, were made by John W. Trader, and relate to the personal relations he bore to the various incidents here recorded.

²⁸The *Sultana*, loaded with Union exchange prisoners, blew up seven miles north of Memphis, Tenn., April 27, 1865. Killed and drowned, 1450 men were lost. New York World Telegram's *World Almanac*, 1951, p. 175. If Doctor Trader had left St. Louis for New Orleans in May, as he states above, he would have seen this catastrophe as his vessel went down the river. He must have been below Memphis, Tenn., prior to April 27, 1865. His biographer, who wrote twenty years before the army surgeon penned the memoirs above, relates that Doctor Trader's regiment was mustered out in April, 1865; that he immediately tendered his services to the United States government, and was stationed on the *Baltic*. Davis and Durrie, *History of Missouri*, p. 608.

THOMAS HART BENTON: EDITOR

BY WILLIAM N. CHAMBERS*

Among Missouri's great men, Thomas H. Benton (1782-1858) stands high. He is well known as one of the first two senators from the state, and as the first man to serve thirty years in the upper house, 1821-1851. He is well known as an untiring proponent of western development and western expansion, as a leader in Andrew Jackson's war against the "monster" Bank of the United States, and a fighter for "hard money" (here he got his nickname, "Old Bullion"), and a radical democrat who proclaimed in bad Greek the "*demos krates*" principle—"the people to rule." He is well known as a statesman who, despite origins in the South and its slaveholding culture and political roots in slaveholding Missouri, became in the 1840's and 1850's a vigorous opponent of slavery extension. Many know of his memoir of national politics and his part in them, his *Thirty Years View*, and some have even read it.¹

The apprenticeship he served before he reached these heights is, however, less known and less understood.² In particular it is not generally remembered that Thomas Benton was, in his mid-thirties, the driving, broad-thinking, capable editor of the second newspaper west of the Mississippi River. This paper, for a few short years the lusty rival to the established, better-known *Missouri Gazette*, played an important part in its editor's ascent of the political ladder, a major part in bringing him to his senatorship. It also gave him an opportunity to express his views on great questions like the progress of the West, banking and currency, popular democracy, and slavery extension. These unformed views were not always consistent with those he was later to propound as a senator.

The paper he edited was the *St. Louis Enquirer*, and he guided its destinies from the fall of 1818 through 1820. The successor of

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¹Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years View* (New York, Appleton, 1854-56).

²Unfortunately the existing biographies do not shed any clear light on this problem—Cf. Theodore Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1899), William M. Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1904), and Joseph M. Rogers, *Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, Jacobs, 1905).

an earlier venture called the *Western Emigrant*,³ it was a four-page, five column sheet slightly larger than a modern tabloid, published first once a week, and later—a daring venture for the time and place—twice a week. Subscriptions were three dollars in advance, four dollars at the end of a year and \$5 a week for the semi-weekly when it was started; but, the publishers—Isaac N. Henry, business manager—announced, “whoever will guarantee the payment of ten papers, shall receive the eleventh gratis.” As an editor, Thomas Benton proclaimed characteristically exalted ideals, declaring that newspapers were “the school of public instruction,” that they were in America “what the forum was in Greece and Rome, with the advantage of speaking to a nation instead of an *assembly*.”

He also saw the potentiality of newspapers in molding public opinion, calling them “the most powerful *lever* which can be applied to the human mind.”

Early in his newspaper career, Thomas Benton took up the portentous question of the development of the West. Watching the stream of immigration into Missouri, he saw the future in the “PROGRESS OF POPULATION TO THE WEST,” in the day when the ever-westerling “children of Adam” would spill across the Shining or Rocky Mountains into the Pacific slope, in the day when Americans would fill the great plains of a vast, undeveloped Texas. In late 1818 and early 1819, the *Enquirer* offered a series of articles on this topic.⁴ These articles, looking thousands of miles and many years beyond the St. Louis of the time, were written when Missouri was still a Federal Territory, with a population of less than 70,000, and with many areas still untamed wilderness. They were written when the Louisiana Purchase boundary marked the western border of the United States, and when there was some doubt as to just how far west this line ran and whether or not it brought the Texas area into the United States.

On these matters, Editor Benton had no doubts. He proclaimed that “the magnificent valley of the Mississippi is [ours],” and to him this included the area of Texas up to the edge of the Rio Grande

³*Missouri Gazette*, August 7, 1818.

⁴*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 21, 28, 1819. Unfortunately no complete file of Thomas H. Benton's paper is known, and the earliest issues appear to be lost.

⁵Thomas H. Benton, *Selections of Editorial Articles from the St. Louis Enquirer, on the Subject of Oregon and Texas, as Originally Published in that Paper, in the Years 1818-1819* (St. Louis, 1844), 5. References to this series are to this pamphlet rather than the *Enquirer* files because the pamphlet is apparently complete while the files are not.

watershed. He cried—"woe to the statesman that undertakes to surrender one drop of its water, one inch of its soil, to any foreign power." He asserted, in addition, that the American claim to the great Pacific Northwest, or "Oregon country," was unassailable, and these waters and lands too were ours.⁶

The great question, Thomas Benton thought, was the *development* of these far-western reaches. For the Northwest, or Columbia Valley region, he sketched a program for this development—the country could be opened up by fur trappers and fur traders, followed by farmers, "the American yeomanry"; the "fertility of the soil [would] invite farmers to settle." Thus the region might be built up around an economy of "*furs and bread*." On this foundation, Editor Benton proposed, the "ASIATIC COMMERCE" of the nation might be funneled up the Missouri and down the Columbia and on to Japan, China, India, and the eastern islands—"instead of going to the *east*," by sea, "Americans should therefore go to the *west* to arrive in Asia." One thing was needed to launch this program—a force powerful enough to open the new country, establish American rights there, and serve as a core for its development. This force, Thomas Benton suggested, might be supplied by "the operations of an American Fur Company, headed by men of enterprise," sponsored by the Federal government and protected by Federal troops. Realization of the program would "sap at its foundation the solid pillar of British wealth and power," and thereby "give the Republic [the United States] her day of pre-eminence among the nations of the earth." All in all, it was quite a vision for a novice editor in a little frontier village.⁷

What the *Enquirer* proposed was not to be realized, at least in the immediate future. Even as the Texas and Oregon articles appeared, negotiations with Spain were going forward under John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts about Texas, and talks with England were proceeding under Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania about the Northwest. Agreements were signed yielding American claims to Texas, and establishing joint English-American occupation of Oregon until rival pretensions there were determined. These agreements reached by eastern statesmen about western questions were bitterly condemned by Thomas Benton, who cried in anguish and augury—"it is time that western men had some share in the destinies

⁶*Ibid.*, 7, 9.

⁷*Ibid.*, 12-14, 26.

of this Republic."⁸ This sentiment struck a keynote for his whole career.

In his program for the Northwest, Editor Benton revealed something of his political orientation. In St. Louis he had established important contacts with the old-French landed and business oligarchy of the town, and with their undisputed leader, the co-founder and earlier-day tycoon Auguste Chouteau. But he had also, as a lawyer, traveling the territory, come to know and feel a sympathy for the men who made up the majority of the western population—farmers, *petits paysans*, yeomen. That part of his Oregon vision which urged development and Federal protection of the fur trade, and projected a new commerce with Asia through St. Louis, was bound to please the interests centered around Auguste Chouteau and his innumerable relatives and allies—the old-French leaders were deeply involved in the fur trade. In addition, there was already “an” American Fur Company, a giant concern headed by John Jacob Astor in New York, and the St. Louis enterprisers centered around Auguste Chouteau had long been in contact with, and had finally made a working agreement with this concern.⁹ On the other hand, the *Enquirer* editor’s emphasis on the great Northwest as a future haven for small farmers was bound to have an appeal for the plain men of the territory, who could see in this phase of the Oregon vision possibilities for ever-widening opportunities, an ever-widening economic base for popular political democracy. Simultaneously, Editor Benton spoke out for the spirit of enterprise, and for the development of a yeomen’s Arcadia on the model Thomas Jefferson had suggested.

In short, Thomas Benton was doing some political Roman-riding, and it was many years before he finally made a choice—and by the time he made it, he was no longer an editor but a senator.

Throughout 1819, Editor Benton ran frequent articles on the problems of banking and currency. This was a big issue in Missouri and the West, for prosperity, based on immigration, huge increases in commercial activity, and land speculation, demanded quantities of money or a circulating medium which the section found it hard to muster. There was a lack of specie, gold and silver coin, hard cash, and more and more the business of the region was carried on with a weird conger of paper notes issued by proliferating state

⁸*Ibid.*, 8.

⁹Cf. Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1931), I, 60-61, 106; II, 692-693.

banking companies—the periodicals of the day aptly described the financial structure as a “paper system.” Unfortunately the banks who spawned the paper were by no means always sound, and their note issues fluctuated in value from time to time and from region to region, often becoming altogether worthless.¹⁰

Looking over this uncertain situation, Thomas Benton thought it his duty to expose weak concerns and doubtful paper. His editorial finger jabbed at bank after bank, particularly in the South and West, in a series of expostulations which foreshadowed his later opposition to excessive, unsound paper money. In April, 1819, the *Enquirer* censured the Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Cincinnati for issuing notes on “empty boxes,” and for sending fifty thousand dollars worth of “new made notes. . . to Missouri and Illinois to be ‘swapped’ for something that would pass where they would not.” In May, 1819, the *Enquirer* warned that one dollar bills on the Bank of Georgetown, Kentucky, had been cleverly altered to \$100 notes! In June, 1819, the *Enquirer* sweepingly condemned the “*Kentucky Independent Bank. . . en masse*”—though Editor Benton was happy to give credit to two exceptions because of “the resolution of these banks to *continue specie* payments.” Also, in June, Editor Benton wrote of the “*Edwardsville Bank*,” near St. Louis in Illinois—“this institution is insolvent,” despite the fact that it had recently shown \$20,000 of (somebody’s) specie “all arranged, like a china-work shop, to catch [the] eye.” In July, the *Enquirer* warned against five banks in Tennessee, and against several others in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia which were no longer redeeming notes in hard money or specie. And so on—the list revealed how widespread the paper-money mania had become.¹¹

The *Enquirer* also discussed the Bank of the United States, though here it was not so blunt-spoken. This concern, chartered as a national institution by Congress in 1816, had in its early years followed the wayward course of its state-sponsored fellows, indulging in speculation and an immense, over-extended issue of bank notes—though it had not failed to redeem in specie.¹² In later years, Thomas Benton severely condemned this “monster” institution for its early wild oats, and led an all-out legislative assault against its

¹⁰Cf. *Niles Weekly Register*, XIV (April 25-August 22, 1818), and *Missouri Gazette*, September 4, 11, 18, 25, October 2, 9, 1818.

¹¹*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 28, May 26, June 9, 16, July 14, 21, 28, August 25, 1819.

¹²Cf. Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1903), 22-50, 68-92, 501-503.

very life.¹² In 1819, however, though he ran comments critical of the big bank and particular instances of mismanagement, he did not in his paper oppose it as an institution, and his animadversions certainly did not indicate the formed, unrelenting opposition he was afterwards to express.

An indication of his attitude was given in the *Enquirer's* comment on the judicial decision in the case, *McCulloch vs Maryland*. In 1818 the life of the bank was seriously threatened when the state of Maryland imposed a heavy tax on its Baltimore branch; it saved itself by taking the matter to law and getting the tax declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. This decision came "very opportunely," the *Enquirer* opined editorially, "to give confidence to the public authorities to *oppose* the resolutions to plunder [by taxation] the branch banks in Kentucky and Ohio." The Court dictum, added to the fact that the bank had passed under new leadership, made it clear that "the institution may now be considered permanent and national."¹³ Thus did the Democratic-Republican editor and radical-Democrat-to-be greet a key decision by an old-Federalist judge, John Marshall.

One bank Thomas Benton did not criticize was—the Bank of Missouri. This concern, launched by Auguste Chouteau and his coterie, was so far specie-paying and prosperous, and in addition Thomas H. Benton was at one time or another one of its stockholders, directors, and borrowers.¹⁴ Here again Thomas Benton could be suspected, and was accused, of letting the economic and political interest of a portion of the St. Louis business community influence his editorial policy. His enemies could claim that his interest in the Bank of Missouri dictated his attacks on other, outstate, rival concerns.¹⁵

In addition to banking as such, the *Enquirer* gave some attention to the problem of currency in general. The years 1819 and 1820 saw a collapse of the "paper system" in many sections of the country, though Missouri was not immediately affected, and this situation brought Thomas Benton to look more and more toward specie, "hard money," as a nostrum. Here, the *Enquirer's* editorial line directly paralleled the position its editor was later to take as

¹²Benton, *View*, I, 243-250, 255-265, 373-385, 396-398, 471-473.

¹³*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 21, 1819.

¹⁴Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians: Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, 493-498.

¹⁵*Cf. Missouri Gazette*, July 21, 1819.

a national leader, as "Old Bullion." The big problem was, where was the specie to come from—and Thomas Benton suggested that an expanded western trade, particularly with mineral-rich Mexico, might bring in silver and gold, while supplies of copper from the region around Lake Superior and the Falls of St. Anthony might bring in copper as a basis for small notes. In any case, the *Enquirer* began to praise a hard money system as a *desideratum*, with "the hard" serving at least as a foundation for notes and as much as possible as currency. One item Editor Benton ran asserted—

Banish paper and you introduce gold and silver.

Where gold and silver is the standard, the price of everything is reasonable, and a dollar stands for a dollar."

This was a doctrine that could please cautious business men, and yeomen who lived by the product of their labor. It became one of the chief planks in the agrarian, popular democratic program Thomas Benton later championed.¹⁷

The question of slavery also came within Thomas Benton's editorial ken, as part of Missouri's bid for statehood. The question was precipitated when an amendment was added to a bill to admit Missouri as a state—an amendment outlawing further introduction of slaves into the area and freeing all slave children in Missouri when they reached the age of twenty-five. This move to restrict slavery provoked what Thomas Benton later called "violent parties" in the territory.¹⁸ As the son of a slaveholding family, a man who had lived his formative years in slaveholding communities, and a petty slaveholder himself, he took the pro-slavery or anti-restrictionist side of the controversy. The *Enquirer* emerged as the anti-restrictionist paper, while the rival *Gazette* inclined to the restrictionist side.

Throughout the spring of 1819 Editor Benton trumpeted the anti-restrictionist cause. Restrictionists, he proclaimed, were the "disorganizers or emissaries of King and Clinton," the Federalist party leaders in New York, "or the busy spirits of anarchy!" Innumerable news stories reported anti-restrictionist rallies, anti-re-

¹⁷*St. Louis Enquirer*, August 11, 1819; January 24, 1820.

¹⁸Benton, *View*, I, 436-458, 469-470, 676-678, 694-707.

¹⁹Thomas H. Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," in *Thirty Years View*, Edition of 1883 (New York, 1883), IV.

strictionist toasts. At a public meeting in May, Thomas Benton made an address—fully reported in the *Enquirer*—which summed up the anti-restrictionist line, arguing that the issue was not so much slavery-or-anti-slavery as it was *freedom* versus *coercion*, the right to decide the question. The people of Missouri might “voluntarily” abolish slavery, if the rest of the nation did and Missourians saw fit, but meanwhile “no process of reasoning can make it right that they should be *forced* to the surrender of their slaves.” In June, a toast reported approvingly in the *Enquirer* summed it up: “The future state of Missouri—Equal in sovereignty to the original states, or—nothing!”²⁰

This issue was finally resolved, for the time being, by the first Missouri Compromise, in March, 1820, which provided for the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and Maine as a free state, and prohibited slavery in the western territory north of latitude 36° 30’.

When news of this compromise reached Missouri, Editor Benton greeted it approvingly. If Congress had delayed much longer, he trumpeted impatiently, “the people of the United States would have witnessed a specimen of Missouri feeling in the indignant contempt with which they would have trampled the odious restrictions under their feet and proceeded to the formation of a republican constitution in the fullness of the people’s power.”²¹ Whatever this may have meant, it was the fullness of purple prose, and it and like remarks on the slavery issue brought the *Enquirer* its first notice from the nation’s newsmagazine, *Niles Register*, the august Cato of the press. “Many articles which have appeared in the *St. Louis Enquirer*,” this weekly observed, “have exhibited a disposition rather to fill up the country with slaves, than maintain the right of the state to permit the holding of these.”²² In a reply to this stricture, Thomas Benton insisted that he was less concerned with slavery as such than he was with freedom of decision, the admission of Missouri as a state, and immigration from all the sections of the nation. Meanwhile, he exulted—“the agony is over and Missouri is born into the Union; not a seven-months baby but a man child!”²³ Actually, the Territory was not admitted until another

²⁰*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 7, 14, 17, 28, May 19, June 9, 23, 1819.

²¹*Ibid.*, March 31, 1820.

²²*Niles Weekly Register*, XVIII (May 6, 1820), 170.

²³*St. Louis Enquirer*, March 29, June 7, 1820.

year and another Missouri Compromise had been accomplished, but the slavery issue had been settled.⁵⁴

In his treatment of the slavery and slavery-restriction question in 1819 and 1820, Thomas Benton took a position he was to hold for another dozen years. This point of view, at least sympathetic to slavery, was not considered at the time to be inconsistent with the popular, equalitarian democracy he championed as a lieutenant of Andrew Jackson—the status of Negroes was the peculiar blind spot of this creed. But during the 1830's, Senator Benton began to move away from the position Editor Benton had adopted. When slavery and slavery extension became a critical issue after the acquisition of Texas and the war with Mexico, in the 1840's and 1850's, Thomas Benton broke finally with his past, came to look upon slavery as a moral evil, opposed its extension in a way which aligned him with a new set of "restrictionists"—and finally adopted a position not far from that taken by Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.⁵⁵

In this movement away from the position he took in the *Enquirer* in 1820, he was guided largely by his growing conviction that the expansion of the slave-system was a threat to the yeomen-based, agrarian, western popular democracy he had made his political faith.

His apprenticeship as a newspaper editor involved Thomas Benton in some unpleasantness with his neighbors and rivals.

One such incident wound up in a spectacular street brawl. It began in July, 1819, when a speculator and bank-note broker named Richard Venables published an advertisement in the *Enquirer* offering to pay a premium of 1% above market for notes issued by the Bank of Missouri. He later boggled at this offer, and Thomas Benton roasted him in an editorial. Immediately, Venables turned to the *Gazette* to lambast Editor Benton—"I feel it a duty due to my character to drag [him] before the public, who no doubt must see [Thomas] Benton in *this instance* in no other point of view, than as the hireling tool of the Missouri Bank."⁵⁶

The day after this statement appeared, Richard Venables walked by the *Enquirer* office several times. Finally, as he paused in the dusty street before the building, Thomas Benton's business partner, Isaac Henry, went to the door and ordered the broker

⁵⁴Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821* (Jefferson City, Hugh Stephens, 1916), pp. 300, 320.

⁵⁵Benton, *View*, I, 136-138, 609-623; II, 696-698 ff.

⁵⁶*Missouri Gazette*, July 21, 1819.

away. The touchy Venables drew a pistol and pointed it at the *Enquirer's* manager, who dived into the shop to get a weapon of his own. Working in the back room, Thomas Benton heard Isaac Henry run into the office, and went promptly to the gallery which surrounded the building, to see what was going on. When he saw the situation he called out—"don't shoot the damned assassin."²⁷ At this, Venables turned his pistol on Editor Benton, who, unarmed, vaulted over the gallery railing into the street and picked up a large stone and started to advance on Venables. This gentleman turned tail and ran into a doorway across the street. The editor let fly with the large stone and several smaller ones, which left dents in the wooden door behind the note-broker but did not hit him. By this time a crowd had gathered to watch the sport, and some of them disarmed Venables. He broke loose, rushed his antagonist, locked his arms about his neck, dragged the *Enquirer* editor—in a fine suit—to the ground, and beat him with his fists. Men in the crowd quickly pulled Venables off and sent him packing, and Thomas Benton returned to his office to take up the writing he had left on his work table.

Four days later, Richard Venables published a long account of the whole affair. His purpose, he declared, was to "tear the mask" from Thomas Benton, "and drag him naked before the public," in all his "hideous and contemptible deformity"—and this was the practical end of the matter.²⁸

Other antagonists were more persistent. In particular, Thomas Benton's competitor at the *Gazette*, the acidulous Joseph Charless, conducted a running feud with what he called "the *Enquirer* man"—doubting his junior's statements of fact, catching little errors in his grammar, raving at his logic, scolding him for his political associations, and skating always nearer the edge of personal insult.²⁹

The *Gazette* lashed at Thomas Benton on particular points, and in general. After the *Enquirer's* articles on Oregon and Texas—"what a prodigy this editor is, who can alone see better into the interests of the union, from the point he occupies, near or at the mouth of the Missouri River, than Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Adams, and others." Of the articles Thomas Benton and his partner ran on

²⁷*Ibid.*, July 25, 1819.

²⁸Thomas H. Benton to Joseph Wiggin, n. d., and statement by Richard R. Venables, Extra, *Missouri Gazette*, July 25, 1819. Once again, because the *Enquirer* files are incomplete, it is necessary to draw on other sources—in this case the rival *Gazette*.

²⁹*Missouri Gazette*, March 24, 31, April-May, 1819.

banks and bank-notes (sarcastically)—what “correct and public spirited conduct,” how admirable to proclaim that “*they neither deceive the people nor permit it to be done through their office!*” In general—“the Enquirer man, bent-on mischief,” who “seems to have a propensity to falsehood that is perpetually leading him to slander and misrepresentation,” and who when he attempted wit was “just as successful as a bear imitating the tricks of a monkey!”²⁰ The feud was not one-sided, however, and “the Enquirer man” soon took to calling Joseph Charless “the old communications maker,” expressing an inevitable suspicion that the *Gazette’s* proprietor wrote many of his own letters-to-the-editor. At one point the *Enquirer* accused the *Gazette* of making up one hundred lies against a political candidate the *Enquirer* supported. The *Gazette* asked for a bill of particulars and the unquenchable Thomas H. Benton promptly came up with an actual “list of One Hundred Lies fabricated by the old communications maker,” consisting of quotes from the *Gazette* numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and so on up to 100.²¹ The rival editors used nearly everything against one another short of actionable slander and actual physical assault.

The peak was reached as far as the *Enquirer* went in a jingle appearing in that paper in July, 1820. Of Joseph Charless the *Enquirer* lamented, crocodile-like—

“Spleen to mankind his canker’d heart posses’t
And much he hated all, but most the best;
‘The Enquirer Man’ his everlasting theme,
And filthy scandal his delight supreme . . .”
“Pope, Jr.”²²

Soon after this, Thomas Benton was elected to the Senate. He gave up his editorship at the *Enquirer*, which survived a few years and then faded into oblivion while the *Gazette* and its successor the *Republican* went triumphantly on. As a senator, Thomas H. Benton found new “powerful levers” to influence public opinion. But his editorship of the *St. Louis Enquirer* marked an important step in his career, and in 1818 to 1820 the *Enquirer* was an important platform for the expression of his developing views on questions which were to engross him in his thirty years in the national political arena. Always one to fancy himself as a literary man, he often looked back on his newspaper days with nostalgia.²³

²⁰*Ibid.*, June 9, 23, 30, August 2, 1819.

²¹*St. Louis Enquirer*, July 21, 1819.

²²*Ibid.*, July 19, 1820.

²³Cf. Benton, “Auto-Biographical Sketch,” v.

"THIS WEEK IN MISSOURI HISTORY"

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER*

During the past three months, newspapers all over the state have published the six "This Week in Missouri History" articles presented here.

Newspaper readers have enjoyed the Society's "This Week" historical sketches for twenty-seven years now. When we began the new illustrated series in 1951, I thought the articles were good enough to be shared with *Review* readers who might have missed them in their local newspapers. Response to the articles and illustrations was so favorable that we are continuing them in 1952.

Miss Jean Brand compiled the articles, under my editorship, from reference sources and publications in the Society library and handled the illustration.

Many different sources were combed to find the picture most suitable for each article. The outline drawing of the Pony Express rider, for instances, was traced from a dimmed picture on the cover of an old book about the Pony Express. The lady in quaint costume working in the newspaper plant was sketched in St. Louis for *Edward's Great West*, published in 1860. Typical of the old time livery stables is the illustration of the Pike's Peak Stables, reproduced from the St. Joseph *Daily Herald* of January 27, 1889. Audubon's passenger pigeons are from the well-known print, which after more than a century is still the best picture ever made of those birds.

Harper's Weekly on July 6, 1861, published their artist's drawing of Lyon's troops leaving the packet *Iatan*, and the rider perched atop his high-wheeled bicycle appeared in *The Growth of Industrial Art*, put out by the U. S. Patent Office in 1892.

References accompany each article for those who may wish to read more on the subject.

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FIRST PONY EXPRESS STARTED FROM MISSOURI

Released April 3, 1952



PONY EXPRESS RIDERS sped the mail between St. Joseph and Sacramento in record time.

The first Pony Express rider picked up a buckskin mail pouch and was ferried across the Missouri River at St. Joseph the afternoon of April 3, 1860, on the first lap of a 1980-mile trip across the continent. On the same day, a rider from Sacramento started east.

The Pony Express, destined for a short but colorful career, had begun. Letters, telegrams, special editions of newspapers, and a message telegraphed to St. Joseph from President James Buchanan to the governor of

California were in that mail.

At first horses were changed every twenty-five miles at way-stations along the route, but later changes were made every ten miles. Riders had two minutes at each station to transfer mail bags to a fresh pony and be on their way. Dangers from Indians, robbers, and all the perils of the frontier West tried the courage of the riders, but the mail went through, and men averaged about seventy-five miles a trip. "Buffalo Bill" Cody was one of the most famous Pony Express riders.

The firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell started this mail service to advertise the practicability of a central route across Kansas

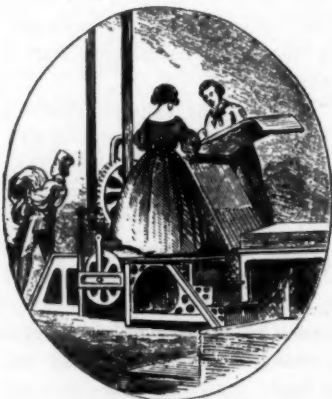
and Nebraska, over the Rockies to Salt Lake City and Sacramento. There the mail was put on a fast boat for San Francisco. When announcements of the proposed route appeared in newspapers, people were skeptical of its success. The first Pony Express westward, however, took about ten days. Important official news traveled more quickly. The fastest trip was seven days and seventeen hours, when Lincoln's inaugural address was carried to the west coast.

During its eighteen months of operation, the Pony Express failed financially. Its expenses, which included upkeep of eighty riders, 420 horses, and 190 relay stations, are estimated at about \$475,000. Mail receipts probably totaled about \$90,000. When the telegraph was completed across the continent in October, 1861, it eliminated the need for the Pony Express.

[References: Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Pony Express* (Chicago, 1913); Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express* (New York, 1932); Howard R. Driggs, *The Pony Express Goes Through* (New York, 1935); Floyd C. Shoemaker, editor, *Missouri Day by Day* (Columbia, Mo., 1942-1943), I, 239.]

LADIES OF THE PRESS ADDED WOMAN'S TOUCH TO MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

Released April 17, 1952



NEWSPAPER WOMEN were still a rarity when this sketch was made at the St. Louis *People's Press* in 1860.

Women's place was supposed to be in the home back in 1808 when Mrs. Joseph Charless was helping her husband produce the first newspaper published in Missouri.

Readers of the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette* probably approved of Mrs. Charless' rearing children, keeping house, and working from dawn to dusk in the family tavern, but they might have frowned on a newspaper which a woman had a hand in printing. Therefore her name never appeared on the masthead.

Mrs. Charless was the first of many Missouri editors' wives who have served in every capacity

from printer's devil to ace reporter without salary or fame, but only as part of wifely duty in working toward a husband's success.

They blazed a trail for the independent women who became editors and publishers in their own right.

Eliza Patten discovered how printer's ink stained hands and aprons when she helped her husband Nathaniel with the mechanical work in his newspaper office. In 1819, Patten, with Benjamin Holliday, established the first newspaper west of the Mississippi outside of St. Louis. This was *The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser* at Franklin. The Pattens were publishing the *Cosmos Monitor* at St. Charles when Nathaniel died in 1837, and Eliza carried on the paper alone.

Christina and Jacob Graf from Switzerland founded the *Hermann Volksblatt* at Hermann in 1854. Christina helped with the printing and continued the paper after Jacob died. She set up the first English-language newspaper in Gasconade County in 1873 and kept both papers going for another decade.

Several other Missouri women became newspaper editors when they found they had to take over the family business at the death of a husband or father, often in the face of barely concealed astonishment on the part of the home town folks. One such was Mrs. Lily Herald Frost of the *Vandalia Leader*, who in 1908 became the first woman officer of the Missouri Press Association.

Missouri newspaper women quietly gained prestige because of their proved ability. Readers were wary of them at first because of the suffragettes stalking the land, who, it was feared, might put propaganda for woman suffrage in the paper when an editor wasn't looking. The president of one press group emphasized that none of their ladies belonged to the class known as "up-to-date" or "advanced" women.

By 1910 almost a score—"the womanliest kind of women, too"—were running successful country newspapers. That year the public woke up to the fact that there were such things as female editors in Missouri, when Mrs. James Watson of the *Dearborn Democrat* won a prize in a state-wide contest for the best editorial on why Missouri should have a new capitol.

The ladies held as many shades of political belief as their brother editors. Miss Annie Chapman of the *Rocheport Progress* took a decided stand on all questions of the day, and once raised such a fuss about poor work being done on the new Boone County courthouse that officials rejected a faulty foundation.

In 1912 a group of newspaper women in Southwest Missouri organized the Missouri Women's Press Association, and the lady editor was assured of "safety in numbers" in future invasions of a so-called man's field.

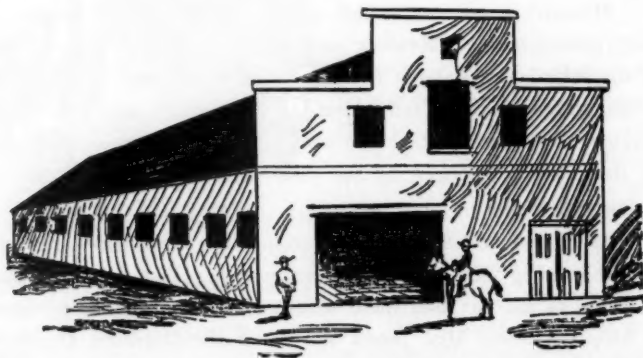
[References: *Kansas City Star*, Sept. 11, 1910; Sara Lockwood Williams, *The Editors Rib* (Boonville, 1941.)]

LIVERY STABLES WERE SOCIAL CENTERS FOR MISSOURI MEN

Released May 1, 1952

There was always a crowd at the livery stable.

Older men who had nowhere to go and nothing in particular to do after they arrived, loafed there. Young boys, warned by their mothers to stay away from the evil atmosphere of the livery stable, were irresistably drawn, and they reveled in the worldly small talk and the fascinating odor of horses.



MISSOURI'S MOST FAMOUS LIVERY STABLE, the Pike's Peak Stables at St. Joseph, sheltered the Pony Express stock in 1860-61.

Each stable had hostlers who brushed and curried the animals, fed them, and if they were sick, doctored them. It was their business to see that the horses were "in good running order" at all times.

If the doctor's horse "threw a shoe" or the lawyer had a case in the adjoining county, the livery stable for a nominal fee could provide transportation. During and after the 1850's Missouri was flooded with commercial salesmen who depended on the livery stables in traveling. Even when trains ran between towns the salesmen usually preferred to hire a rig. It was they who demanded the best and showiest vehicle and liked to drive at great speed down the main street of town behind a high-stepping team.

The livery stable was also a boarding place for the traveler's horses. In 1821 it cost \$2.00 a week to board a horse at Franklin, Missouri, or 37 cents to leave it overnight, and for that price the hostler would attend to any disease of the horse.

The stable was a mecca, too, for the farmers who sold feed to the owner, and who stabled their horses there when they came to town. Some livery stables held auction sales at which wild horses shipped in from the western states were sold to the highest bidder.

In time, the livery stables began to run regular hack service between towns 10 or 15 miles apart, sometimes daily, but more often three times weekly. Even in the latter part of the century these hacks were still carrying mail between the little inland towns in competition with trains, besides doing a flourishing express and passenger business.

As long as it lasted, the livery stable remained a democratic resort where men could meet on common ground, a world where no woman came, a forum of national and neighborhood affairs.

[References: Chet Shafer, "Old Livery Stable," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 5, 1927; I. A. Godman, "One Team and a Cow," *Independent*, Aug. 16, 1906; Many old Missouri county histories contain material on local livery stables.]

**PASSENGER PIGEONS GONE FROM MISSOURI
SKIES AND KITCHENS***Released May 22, 1952*

PASSENGER PIGEONS, painted by John James Audubon, are now totally extinct.

Like dark clouds blotting out the sun, flocks of wild pigeons passed overhead on the way to their forest roosts. A seething mass of birds filled the Missouri sky as far as the eye could see. Flights lasted as long as an hour, and it was estimated that a flock of as many as three million birds could pass in a minute, for they flew very rapidly.

During the evening flights to the roosts the birds flew quite low, giving hunters with rifles an opportunity to shoot into a flock and bring down many birds. Men, women, and children drove to the roosts at night and killed hundreds with clubs and sticks.

Squabs were considered a great delicacy in the late spring. The young birds grew rapidly for a week or so after hatching, becoming very fat and looking nearly as large as their parents. Overgrown, fat young things, clumsy and awkward, were known as "squabby."

In the morning and up to the middle of the afternoon these birds fed on the crop of the acorn-producing trees of the Missouri River bottoms—the white oak, post oak, blackjack, and burr oaks.

While feeding, the pigeons were in almost constant motion. Flocks of hundreds of thousands would dive to the ground with a buzzing roar to pick up acorns, remain on the ground only a moment, then fly away to repeat the process.

The passenger pigeons came to the river bottoms in such numbers in the fall of the year that they soon devoured the available food. They returned in the spring and then again disappeared. When the birds flew into Missouri every autumn and spring no one seems to have made a record of the direction from which they came or in which they departed.

The last passenger pigeons were seen in Missouri sometime in the 1870's. One thing which caused their rapid disappearance was their own gregariousness—they flocked together in such great numbers that when advancing civilization depleted the supply of acorn oaks there was not food enough in any one locality to support them. Also, greedy hunters went to their nesting places and slaughtered the birds by the thousands, sometimes by blinding them with lights at night and knocking them from the trees with poles, and sometimes by stifling them with sulphur. Such factors soon made the passenger pigeon an extinct species, and the sky-darkening flocks were seen no more in Missouri.

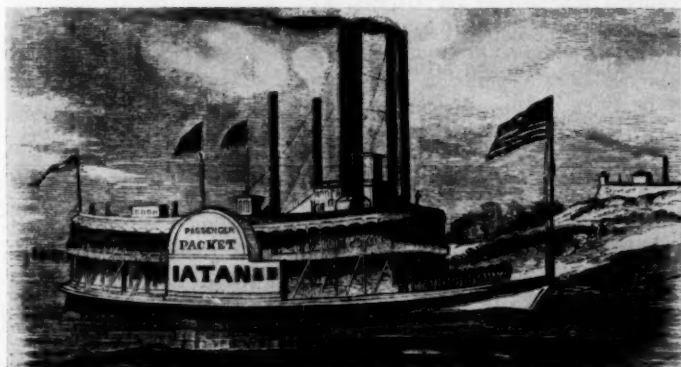
[References: Wiley Britton, "Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 16 (Oct., 1921), 57; William B. Mershon, *The Passenger Pigeon* (New York, 1907).]

FEDERALS CAPTURE JEFFERSON CITY

Released June 12, 1952

On a summer day in 1861 United States troops quietly "invaded" and captured Missouri's capital city without meeting resistance of any sort.

Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and General Sterling Price had met in conference June 11 at St. Louis with General Nathaniel



THE LANDING of the United States Volunteers under General Lyon at Jefferson City.

Lyon, commander of the Department of the West for the Federal government. When the talk broke up over the governor's refusal to permit movements of national forces in Missouri, Lyon declared: "This means war."

Jackson and Price left over the Pacific Railroad for Jefferson City, ordering the Gasconade and Osage river bridges burned behind them, and the next day the governor issued his famous proclamation calling for 50,000 soldiers to repel the Federal troops from Missouri.

General Lyon called this a declaration of war against the United States and promptly loaded 2000 men on steamboats and proceeded up the Missouri River to Jefferson City. Jackson and his officers had abandoned the capital and gone to Boonville to mobilize state troops.

A contemporary newspaper described the easy capture of Jefferson City: "About 3 o'clock last Saturday evening (June 15, 1861) the Federal troops under the command of Gen. Lyon disembarked from boats at Jefferson City and took possession of the town . . . The regulars landed first and immediately took possession of the heights near the penitentiary, and part of . . . Blair's regiment marched to the Capitol, took possession of the building, and hoisted the national flag. The balance of the troops remained on the boats with the artillery."

Col. Henry Boernstein was placed in command and held the capital while Lyon and the main body of his force continued in pursuit of Jackson's followers. Lyon's force went up the river to Boonville on the steamers *Iatan*, *A. McDowell*, and *City of Louisiana*.

It was at Boonville on June 17 that the Federals fought and won the first Civil War battle in Missouri.

[References: James Peckham, *General Nathaniel Lyon, and Missouri in 1861* (New York, 1866); Floyd C. Shoemaker, editor, *Missouri, Day by Day* (Columbia, Mo., 1942-1943), I, 393, 403; Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri* (New York, 1886).]

**PIONEER CYCLISTS IN MISSOURI RODE
A ROUGH UPHILL PATH**

Released June 26, 1952

Perched precariously atop the "high wheelers" of the 1880's, Missouri cyclists needed skill, daring, and an ability to absorb punishment. For hard knocks aplenty caught these pioneer wheelmen—hounded as they were by rock-throwing hoodlums, menaced by the hoofs of startled horses, and apt at any second to crash headlong to the ground in a grand mixup of spokes, pedals, and driver.

Horses shied at the sight of the first bicyclists on St. Louis streets in 1878, and for years thereafter teamsters and carriage owners fought to steady their animals when a two-wheeled vehicle appeared. Leaving city streets for country paths, the cyclists met opposition from farmers who resented the invasion.

Enthusiasts found they gained moral support by riding in company with other cyclists, and one group of fans opened the Missouri division of the League of American Wheelmen in 1881. A necessary adjunct to the club was a riding school, conducted much the same as practice rings at modern stables, to teach the uninitiated to manage their unsteady high-wheeled "mounts." Low-wheeled "safety" bicycles came into general use by the nineties.

Victors in bicycle races, winners of hill-climbing contests, and long distance riding champions were regarded as athletic heroes in sporting circles. The first bike racing tournaments in Missouri were held at St. Louis in 1883, with entries including British experts and out-of-state Americans.

Members of the Rambler Club of St. Louis held the first "Century Run" in the West in 1886. These sportsmen pedaled 100 miles astride forty-pound bikes, over steep hills and against a windstorm to reach their goal in a riding time of eleven hours, thirty-



HIGH WHEELED BIKES gave riders a bird's eye view, took skill and daring to run.

four minutes. On such trips democracy held sway; class distinctions bowed before the sportsman's ability.

Gradually antagonism toward the pastime vanished. Missouri newspapers were publishing regular cycling columns, and fashionable young ladies could be seen swinging down the streets atop the wheels or riding tandem with young gentlemen on a "bicycle-built-for-two."

[References: Lily Ann Dickey, "The Pastimes of Missourians before 1900," *Missouri Historical Review*, 37 (Jan., 1943), 143; M. J. Gilbert, *League of American Wheelmen; Road and Handbook of the Missouri Division* (Columbia, 1895); Everett W. Pattison, *A Run down the Cycle Path* (St. Louis, 1897).]

HISTORY OF THE PAVING BRICK INDUSTRY IN MISSOURI

BY CLARENCE N. ROBERTS*

The decade of the 1870's brought the first utilization of brick for paving purposes in the United States as well as in Missouri. The first use of brick for street paving in the United States was said to date from 1870 when an experimental block was laid in Charleston, West Virginia.¹ In 1875, several blocks were paved with brick in the town of Bloomington, Illinois.²

The first experiments in paving brick in Missouri were associated with the name of George Sattler.³ About 1873, Sattler began exploring the shales in the northern portion of St. Louis County.⁴ In order to utilize a great body of fireclay that was seemingly not suitable for firebrick, Sattler became convinced that it could be used for the production of paving brick. After a few years of production with financial support from a number of friends, it was decided to try some of the Sattler brick on a St. Louis street. The first lot was laid at the west entrance to Eads Bridge in 1880, with funds raised by a contribution of \$50.00 each from a hundred leading citizens.⁵ These brick soon wore out because of their softness, the poor sand foundation, and the very heavy traffic of St. Louis freight teams.⁶

Two other paving brick experiments were attempted in St. Louis in 1880.⁷ The first was made with a brick produced by the Laclede Firebrick Company, which was a soft-glazed mixture of

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¹A. D. Thompson, "Brick Pavements and Paving Brick," *Brick*, X (February, 1899), 65-67; Heinrich Ries and Henry Leighton, *History of the Clay-Working Industry in the United States* (New York, Wiley, 1909), p. 36; H. A. Wheeler, "Clay Deposits," *Missouri Geological Survey*, XI, 1896, 451.

²*Brick*, IV (February, 1896), 232.

³*Ibid.*

⁴J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* . . . (Philadelphia, Everts, 1883), II, 1285; Wheeler, *Geological Survey*, 469-70; Ries and Leighton, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁵Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1285; Wheeler, *Missouri Geological Survey*, pp. 469-470.

⁶*Clay-Worker*, XXXII (August, 1899), 103-104; *Brick*, XX (May, 1904).

⁷*Ibid.*

shale and fireclay. The other was common structural brick boiled in tar. Both of these experiments were unsuccessful, as the brick were too soft to stand heavy traffic.

A second lot of Sattler brick was laid on Second and Pine streets in 1881.⁹ This was more successful than the first Sattler brick, but not enough to prevent a loss of faith in this type of paving material. It was 1896 before St. Louis became an active market for paving brick after vitrified shale brick had been made a success.¹⁰

Kansas City began the use of paving brick for its streets in 1889. By the spring of 1898, it was reported that 23.24 miles of streets had been laid with brick and that before November of that year fourteen miles of brick sidewalks would be constructed.¹¹

St. Joseph began the use of paving brick in 1888, and by 1895, over 100,000 square yards had been laid.¹² The success of the St. Joseph experiments with vitrified brick seems to have encouraged St. Louis to begin an extensive use of this paving material in 1896.¹³

A number of Missouri cities began the utilization of paving brick during the early 1890's. Springfield began the use of them in 1890, and after a few years had three miles in service.¹⁴ Sedalia and Hannibal began using vitrified brick for street paving in 1891. Sedalia obtained her brick from Moberly, Knob Noster, and Kansas City. Hannibal first imported her paving brick from Galesburg, Illinois, and later from the Moberly plant. Other Missouri towns that began using paving brick during the early 1890's were Moberly, Chillicothe, Louisiana, Clinton, and Rich Hill.¹⁵

The real beginning of the paving brick industry in Missouri dates from the late eighties. As early as 1883, a company had been organized at Galesburg, Illinois, for making paving brick by the stiff-mud process.¹⁶ By this date it had been discovered that the shales were the best type of raw material for making paving brick. It had likewise been revealed during the eighties that a vitrified

⁹Sattler continued to experiment with the fireclays in an attempt to find a successful paving brick until his death in 1890. He tried several kinds of machinery without apparent success.

¹⁰*Brick*, XX (May, 1904), 217-219; Wheeler, *Missouri Geological Survey*, p. 452.

¹¹Roy Ellis, *A Civic History of Kansas City, Missouri* (Springfield, Missouri, [Press of Elkins-Swyers] 1930), pp. 81-82.

¹²*Brick*, IV (February, 1896), 173.

¹³Wheeler, *Missouri Geological Survey*, p. 452.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Wheeler, *Missouri Geological Survey*, p. 452.

¹⁶D. V. Purlington, "Our Record of Progress—Eighteen Conventions by One Who Has Attended Them All," *Brick*, XX (March, 1904), 135.

brick, or one burned so hard as to be non-porous, was the ideal type for paving purposes. Hence by 1890, the shales were exclusively employed by paving brick manufacturers in Missouri, and vitrified brick was generally recognized as the superior type.

As the shale used in the production of vitrified brick was so hard and tough, machinery was essential for crushing, screens for sifting and a pug mill for tempering. Vitrified brick were manufactured by the stiff-mud process as it had been discovered that this method produced a product better able to withstand tests for hardness, abrasion, and other specifications desired for paving materials.¹⁶

Following the tempering process the pug clay was fed to a stiff-mud, sometimes called an auger, machine. Here the clay was forced through a die the size of a brick, where it was cut into brick by automatic cutting devices. The auger machines were made in various capacities, ranging from 20,000 to 100,000 for a ten-hour period.¹⁷ At first stiff-mud bricks were dried and burned as they came from the machine; but it was soon discovered that repressing improved the edges, angles, and sizes. The Hydraulic Press Brick Company of St. Louis had three "Eagle" repressing machines in 1903.¹⁸ This company, which installed its paving brick unit about 1902, had two stiff-mud machines for making its paving material. One of these, an "Admiral Dewey," had a 100,000 daily capacity and cutter that could produce seventeen brick in one operation.¹⁹

It was early discovered that paving brick should be burned in down-draft kilns because the up-draft type produced such a large percentage of soft or unburned material.²⁰ The Hydraulic Press Company of St. Louis had sixteen down-draft kilns at its yard in 1903, where water smoking and burning were both done with coal in about seven days. As the color was of lesser importance than for structural brick, both water smoking and burning were done with coal.

¹⁶The term stiff-mud referred to the process wherein a small amount of water was utilized in grinding thus making for a stiff mass. This was distinguished from soft-mud and dry-press process.

¹⁷Wheeler, *Missouri Geological Survey*, p. 458.

¹⁸*Brick*, XX (May, 1904), 237.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰The up-draft kiln was of very simple construction with the fire boxes on the sides and the heat passing up through the brick and out the top. The down-draft type was equipped with a crown with the fires in fireboxes on the outside of the kiln, and the heat passing up to the crown and then down through the brick and out through tunnels or stacks.

In 1890, there were thirteen paving brick plants in Missouri, all of which were located in the central and western portions of the state. Here the clays and shales were particularly suitable for paving brick. In 1896 came the reintroduction of paving brick for use on St. Louis streets, and the shales of St. Louis County were again utilized.

The years following 1896 saw the peak of the brick paving movement in St. Louis. In the spring of 1896 contracts for paving brick were let to the amount of \$221,518, which brought the first municipal paving in the city.²¹ In August, 1896, brick pavement was laid on Morgan Street from Kingshighway to Clarendon Avenue. Then, the following September, Euclid Avenue was paved, to be followed by Taylor, Lindell and others.²²

Certain specifications were required by the city of St. Louis for its paving brick after 1896. As time went by these specifications increased in number and in severity of test. Each bidder on a local construction job was required to submit one hundred bricks to be subjected to the test. First, the bricks were required to show a modulus of rupture in cross breaking of not less than 2,000 pounds per square inch. Second, they were placed in a rattler, twenty-eight inches in diameter, making thirty revolutions per minute. Third, they were subjected to an absorption test.²³

Brick pavements continued to be laid in St. Louis and by 1904, they had reached a total of twenty-eight miles.²⁴ The paving boom continued into the early years of the twentieth century and *Brick and Clay Record* records extensive brick pavement projects in the city as late as 1915.

The brick paving fever appears to have extended to many Missouri cities about 1900. St. Charles in 1897 let contracts aggregating \$25,000 for the paving of its streets.²⁵ In the spring of 1898, it was announced that fourteen miles of brick sidewalks would be laid in Kansas City before November of that year.²⁶ It was reported in September, 1901, that forty-one blocks in Maryville would be paved with vitrified brick.²⁷

²¹*Brick*, IV (May, 1896), 346; XX (May, 1904), 217-219.

²²*Brick*, XX (May, 1904), 217-219.

²³*Brick*, XX (May, 1904), 217-219.

²⁴*Brick*, XX (May, 1904), 217-219.

²⁵*Ibid.*, IV (June, 1896), 38; VI (February, 1897), 79.

²⁶*Ibid.*, VIII (May, 1898), 228.

²⁷*Ibid.*, XV (September, 1901), 118.

The year 1909 marked the apex of the brick paving boom in Missouri; after this date production declined largely resulting from the competition of substitute materials. In value of product the Missouri industry expanded from \$234,800 in 1891 to \$781,706 by 1909.²⁸ After the latter date production declined and in 1924, the last report on paving brick industry, found a product valued at only \$158,153.²⁹ Quantity production registered a decline from 59,863,000 bricks in 1909³⁰ to only five million in 1924. Following 1924 paving brick was not reported separately from structural clay products.

The declining production trend in paving brick so notable following 1909 may be attributed primarily to the invasion of substitute materials, principally the introduction and growing use of concrete. The rapid increase of Portland cement production in Missouri indicated a wide adoption of the material for construction purposes. In 1898, there was no report of any produced in Missouri;³¹ but after 1900, it became an important industry, and by 1910, the production of cement in the state reached an annual value of \$3,858,088.³² By 1925, the annual value of the product exceeded fourteen million dollars.³³

The paving brick industry naturally refused to surrender to the concrete interests without a struggle. The rivalry was particularly keen over the period from 1900-1915 with each group attempting to voice the relative merits of its product. The encroachments of concrete were thoroughly enunciated in the trade journals and brought warning cries from the brick advocates.³⁴

To combat the declining trend in production, "build with brick" and "pave with brick" campaigns were initiated in many cities of the nation. The brick manufacturers of St. Louis in the spring of 1919 staged a campaign to revive the brick industry.³⁵ As late as 1926, *Brick and Clay Record* issued a kind of final call for the

²⁸Solomon Fabricant, *The Output of Manufacturing Industries, 1899-1937*, (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1940), pp. 522-525; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manufacturers X*, 871; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

²⁹U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Clay Products Industries . . . 1924* (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1926), p. 12.

³⁰*Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manufactures, X*, 871.

³¹*Biennial Report of the State Geologist*, 1913, p. 7.

³²*Biennial Report of the State Geologist*, 1913, p. 7.

³³*Ibid*, 1937, p. 34.

³⁴A. W. Bleininger, "Critical Observations On The Brick Industry," *Clay-Worker*, LIII (February, 1910), 254-255.

³⁵*Brick and Clay Record*, 54 (April 22, 1919), 706-707.

paving men to inaugurate a national advertising campaign. While admitting such tactics would cost money, the editorial continued by saying that "writing finis" to the industry would be a more painful alternative.²⁸

One of the major centers of the paving brick industry in Missouri after 1900 was Moberly, in Randolph County. An excellent bed of shale was exploited by the Moberly plant in producing its paving brick. With the declining demand for vitrified paving brick, the company in 1924 began producing building brick in addition to its paving material. In the spring of 1926 the plant was destroyed by fire and was never rebuilt. Many Missouri towns received their paving materials from Moberly during the operation of this plant.

Vitrified paving brick was also used to some extent in building. Many houses in central Missouri were constructed with brick produced at the Moberly plant. Paving brick possessed certain advantages such as being water proof, less costly to lay resulting from larger brick, and their noted durability. Their major disadvantage was their appearance. Manufacturers were usually not concerned about the appearance of brick for paving purposes.

The paving boom in Missouri was almost entirely confined to municipal street projects. Only a small amount of brick was used for highway paving in this state. Missouri never extensively engaged in highway brick paving, partly because it began its modern highway system after concrete had proved its superiority, and partly, perhaps, because the paving brick makers in Missouri never exercised the political influence they did in some states.

Thus the paving brick industry grew and prospered over a relatively brief period of Missouri history. Its prosperity was soon eclipsed by the invasion of substitute materials. While a small amount of paving brick is produced today for special purposes, the industry is of interest primarily for the historian.

²⁸*Brick and Clay Record*, 69, (November 9, 1926), 730.

THE MISSOURI READER
AMERICANS IN THE VALLEY

PART VIII

EDITED BY RUBY MATSON ROBINS¹

THE SETTLEMENTS, 1796 to 1820—(Continued)

St. Louis District and County

St. Louis

ST. LOUIS DISTRICT AND COUNTY²

Pierre Laclède, member of the New Orleans trading company of Maxent and Laclède, came to Upper Louisiana in 1764 to establish a trading post after his company had been granted a trade monopoly with the "savages of the Missouri" by the governor-general of Louisiana. Laclède selected a site near the mouth of the Missouri for his post and named it St. Louis, probably after the canonized King Louis IX of France who was the patron saint of Louis XV, reigning at the time the post was named. At the time Laclède chose the name St. Louis, Louisiana was no longer a French but a Spanish possession.

St. Louis District, as did the other districts in Upper Louisiana, took its name from the principal settlement in the area. The district of St. Louis extended from the Meramec on the south to the Missouri on the north and from the Mississippi westward to an indefinite boundary. In 1812, when St. Louis became a county, the southern boundary became the "Platin Creek from its mouth to its source" and the western boundary the Osage purchase line, while the other boundaries remained the same. In 1818 Franklin County was created out of St. Louis County, and Jefferson County out of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve counties. In 1820, after Missouri had become a state, Gasconade County was established out of Franklin.

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²Information on St. Louis District and County taken from Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements*, (Chicago: Lewis, 1943), I, 215-222.

Out of the area included in the original boundaries of the St. Louis District, probably twenty-five counties have been created in whole or part.⁸ In 1816 all of that part of St. Louis County west of the Osage River was included in Howard County. Since the settlement of Howard County is distinct from that of St. Louis, only the northern part of Jefferson, all of Franklin, most of Gasconade, and the major part of Osage counties seem to belong to the St. Louis area of settlement.

Stoddard gives this description of the St. Louis District in 1804: "It contains several good settlements, as also three compact villages, St. Louis, Carondelet, and St. Ferdinand . . .

"The lands in this district are more fertile, and much less broken, than those in the district of St. Genevieve. Between the Merimack and St. Louis, the banks of the river are mostly high and rocky. Just above St. Louis a bottom commences, and continues to the mouth of the Missouri. On this river the bottoms are extensive . . . Back of St. Louis is an extensive elevated prairie, the soil of which is good . . .

"The exports [of this district] principally consist of various kinds of furs and peltries, salted pork, beef and lead."

Because of its commerce, its geographical position, and its prominence as the territorial capital, St. Louis grew rapidly in population; and by 1820 St. Louis County was the most populous of the original five counties. In 1799 St. Louis District had a population of 2,272; by 1804 this number had increased to 2,780; and by 1810 the count was 5,667.⁹ According to the *Journal of the Senate of the State of Missouri* for 1821 the population of St. Louis County was 8,195, including 1,608 slaves; of Franklin County 1928, including 186 slaves; of Gasconade County 1,174, including 60 slaves; and of Jefferson County, which included territory from Ste. Genevieve County, 1,838, including 209 slaves.¹⁰

⁸It is hard to determine but probably the following counties fall into the original area of the first St. Louis County: St. Louis; Jefferson, except southeast tip; north third Washington; north third Crawford; Franklin; Gasconade; north tip Phelps; Maries, except south strip; Osage; Miller, except south strip; Cole; Moniteau; Cooper; Morgan; Camden, north third; Benton; Pettis; Saline; Lafayette; Johnson; Henry; north third St. Clair; east strip Cass; east strip Jackson; east strip Bates, except southeast tip. In this list, the counties from Miller to Bates were in the area that became Howard County in 1816.

⁹Amos Stoddard, *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, (Philadelphia, M. Carey, 1812), pp. 218, 220-221.

¹⁰Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 215-217.

¹¹*Journal of the Senate of the State of Missouri, at the Second Session of the First General Assembly, Began and Held in the Town of St. Charles, on Monday, the 5th November, 1821*, (St. Louis, Printed by J. C. Cummins, 1821), p. 35.

ST. LOUIS⁷

St. Louis, with its fortunate geographical and commercial position, became the capital of the Spanish settlements in Upper Louisiana, and because of this prominence, the intrigues of England, France, and America for possession of the territory tended to center there. The threat of aggression on the part of these countries resulted in St. Louis early becoming a fortified town.

After the Spanish government closed the Mississippi River to free navigation in 1784, the Americans on the frontier became hostile to Spain and also to their own government for doing nothing to open their main trade route for them. The Spanish, alarmed by the American attitude, sought to encourage the western settlements to withdraw from the Union, so that they might be absorbed by Spanish Louisiana. The discontented ones among the Americans were willing to renounce a government which was doing nothing to help them. In 1792, the movement to separate the western settlements from the Union was complicated by the appearance of Citizen Genet from France. Houck writes: "While the intrigues looking to separate the west from the Atlantic states were in progress . . . Genet appeared in the United States, and in 1792 attempted to inaugurate in the Western states extensive filibustering operations against Louisiana. He sought to involve the United States in war both with Great Britain and Spain, by holding out the hope to capture, by force of arms, the Floridas and Louisiana. Of course, he found adherents in Kentucky, where a large portion of the people had always favored taking New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi by force . . .

"Zenon Trudeau was lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana during this exciting period. The fortifications of St. Louis were put in a complete state of defense, under orders of Carondelet [governor of Louisiana] . . . This threatened attack on Louisiana [by the French and Americans] was averted by the decided intervention of the new federal government. Washington issued a proclamation against the enterprise . . . The French minister, Genet . . . was recalled, and the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real [1795] secured, for a time at least, the free navigation of the Mississippi and thus pacified Western discontent."⁸

⁷See the "Missouri Reader, The French in the Valley," edited by Dorothy Penn, *Missouri Historical Review*, XL, (October, 1945), 111-118.

⁸Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley, 1908), I, 315-316, 318. (All quotations from Louis Houck are reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

After 1795 Spain sought to increase the population of Upper Louisiana and insure her security by offering special inducements to the Americans who would settle in Spanish Louisiana. In 1799, "Trudeau wrote that the only possible means of increasing the population of the colony was from the United States."⁹

Moses Austin, an outstanding American, who took advantage of the Spanish policy of encouraging immigration to Upper Louisiana, made a spectacular entrance into St. Louis in 1797 to see about getting a land claim in the mine district. ". . . he thought it necessary to enter the town with as large a retinue, and as much parade as possible. He led the way himself, on the best horse he could muster, clothed in a long blue mantle, lined with scarlet and embroidered with lace, and rode through the principal streets, where the governor resided, followed by his servants, guides, and others. So extraordinary a cavalcade, in such a place so little frequented by strangers, and at such a season of the year [winter] could not fail, as he had supposed, to attract the particular attention of the local authorities, and the Governor sent an orderly officer to inquire his character and rank."¹⁰ Austin was invited to stay at the governor's house and he was given his desired land grant.

In Austin's account of his journey to the lead mines in Missouri is this detailed description of St. Louis in 1797: "St. Louis is Prettily Situated, on a rising spot of ground, and has a commanding prospect of the Missisipi. . . the Town of St. Louis is better built then any Town on the Missisipi, and has a Number of wealthy Merch^t. and an Extensive Trade, from the Missouri, Illinois and upper ports of the Missisipi. its fast improveing and will soon be a large place; the Town at this time Contains about 200 Houses, most of which are of Stone, and some of them large but not Elegant. The Exports of St. Louis is suppos^d. to amount to 20,000 pounds p^r annum. the Trade of this place must increase beeing with in 15 Miles of the Messouri and Thirty of the Illinois Rivers. the large Settlements makeing on the Missouri by the Americans will be of great advantage to St. Louis the Wealth of which is so much greater than any Other Town on the Missisipi. . . and the great advantages held out by the government of Spain will soon make the Settlements on the Missouri Formidable. Land have already

⁹*Ibid.*, I, 332.

¹⁰Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley Comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population* (New York, Collins and Hannay, 1825), p. 242.

been granted to 1000 Families Near four Hundred of which have arriv.d from different parts of the United States. Back of St. Louis is a small Fort Mounting four four pounders. its not of much strength, has a guard of Twenty men onely. the Church is a Frame building and make but an indifferent apperence has neither Steeple or Bell."¹¹



Government House, St. Louis, 1804. *Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis*

Stoddard wrote a brief history and description of the town at the time of the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States: "It [St. Louis] was founded in 1764 by 'Pierre Laclede, Maxan, and company,' who. . .conceived it a position where the trade of the Missouri, Mississippi, and the other rivers, was most likely to center, and since that period, St. Louis had been the emporium of trade in Upper Louisiana. In 1766 this village received a large accession of inhabitants from the opposite side of the river, who preferred the government of Spain to that of England. The situation of the town is elevated; the shore is rocky, which effectually prevents the encroachments of the river. It has two long streets

¹¹Moses Austin, "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey from the Lead Mines in the County of Wythe in the State of Virginia to the Lead Mines in the Province of Louisiana West of the Mississippi, 1796-1797," *The American Historical Review*, V (April, 1900), 535.

running parallel with the Mississippi, with a variety of others. . . It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them, including the large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are enclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rocks scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortable warm in summer. A small sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie, which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants.

"After the attack made on St. Louis in 1780 by the [English and Indians]. . . the Spanish government found it necessary to fortify the town. It was immediately stockaded, and the stone bastion and the demilune at the upper end of it were constructed. . . In 1794 the garrison on the hill in the rear of the town and government house, was completed. In 1797. . . four stone towers were erected at nearly equal distances in a circular direction round the town, as also a wooden block-house near the lower end of it. It was contemplated to enclose the town by a regular chain of works, and the towers were intended to answer the purposes of bastions: But as the times grew more auspicious, the design was abandoned, and the works left in an unfinished state."¹⁸

Amos Stoddard, first civil and military commandant of Upper Louisiana, who took over the territory in the name of the United States, wrote to his mother a few months after the transfer¹⁹ describing his impressions and activities: ". . . About two thirds of the people in this country are from the States. . . the other third are French. . . I, however, find the French people very friendly. I even speak part of their language and they consider it a duty as well as a pleasure to make themselves agreeable to the United States.

". . . I took possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of the French Republic on the 9th day of March; and on the next day, I assumed the Country and Government in the name of the United States. The Spanish laws are still in force, and will continue in force till the first day of October next. . . The country is beautiful beyond description. The lands contain marrow and fatness, and produce all the conveniences and many of the luxuries of life. . . the people are rich and hospitable; they live in a style equal to

¹⁸Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 218-219.

¹⁹For a description of the ceremonies at the time of the transfer see "The Missouri Reader, The Louisiana Purchase," edited by Alice LaForce, *Missouri Historical Review*, XLII (January, 1948), 158-167.

those in the large sea-port towns, and I find no want of education among them. . . The only circumstance I have to regret is the great expense I am at in living, for all kinds of West India, and other foreign produce is extremely dear. As I am entrusted with the temporary office of Governor, I have been obliged to rent a large house in town. This, however, is at the expense of the Government but the daily expenses of my table are considerable. On my arrival here, the Spanish Governor made a public Dinner for me. . . This was soon followed by a public Dinner and Ball, made me by the inhabitants of the town. These acts of civility I was obliged to return, and my station required it. Accordingly, I also gave a public Dinner and Ball, at my own house, and the expense amounted to 622 Dollars and 75 cents. I am in hopes, however, that the Government will remunerate me for this expense . . . Even if I be denied a compensation for these particular expenses, I shall not regret them for the pleasure I have given and received is adequate to them."⁴

"For a time after the cession of Louisiana, where would be the principal business and political center of the new territory of upper Louisiana, was a matter of doubt. Ste. Genevieve had [in 1804] a larger population than St. Louis. The principal and most important American settlement was located near the post of Cape Girardeau, although no town had been laid out formally in the Cape Girardeau district. The French population predominated in the St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts. The New Madrid district was largely settled by Americans, but [the population had begun to decline]. . . When Stoddard took possession of upper Louisiana, he was instructed by Jefferson to make no changes. Accordingly, he simply assumed the position of DeLassus, the last Spanish Governor. . . taking up his residence in St. Louis. . . [After] General Wilkinson [was] appointed governor of the new 'Louisiana Territory' he took up his residence in St. Louis, although the Act of 1805 [organizing the territory] did not provide that that place should be the seat of government of the new territory, but in 1806, the new territorial legislature provided that the general court of the territory 'should sit twice a year in St. Louis. . .'

"St. Louis being the place of residence of the Governor, the territorial officers and the Supreme court, this soon brought there

⁴Amos Stoddard, Letter to Mrs. Samuel Benham dated St. Louis, June 16, 1804, in "Three Early Letters," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, VI (1931), 320-321.

some of the most enterprising Americans. The French traders of St. Louis had always been the most progressive and enterprising men in upper Louisiana under the old regime. Men like Pierre and Auguste Chouteau, Manuel de Lisa, Clamorgan, Cerré, Gratiot, Bouies, Robidoux, Pratte and others, as soon as they adjusted themselves to the new condition of affairs, were not slow to take advantage of the new and larger opportunities offered them by the change of government. This, aided by a location near the mouth of the Missouri river, then the artery to the great field of the fur trade, and the country along this river rapidly settling up with an intelligent and progressive American population, St. Louis quickly became the commercial metropolis of the new territory, the center of military operations, legislative action and political activity in the west."¹⁸

Many of the "progressive and enterprising" Frenchmen listed by Houck played a prominent part in making St. Louis the dominant town in the territory of Missouri. Auguste Chouteau is an outstanding example of how the French were active in public and commercial affairs of the town. "When Louisiana Territory was transferred to the United States, Auguste Chouteau willingly cooperated with the new officials. He was one of three judges of the first territorial court and in 1808 was a colonel of the St. Louis militia. He served also as chairman of the board of trustees of St. Louis when it was incorporated in 1809, and as president of the Bank of Missouri, organized in 1816."¹⁹

"After the cession of Louisiana. . . St. Louis was the center of United States regular officers and soldiers. So strong a force was maintained at the Bellefontaine cantonments [established by Governor Wilkinson in 1805], that the military became an important and formative element in the society of St. Louis."²⁰ Bellefontaine did not flourish as a military post, and in 1816 Flint described the place: "Just above the point made by the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi, is Belle-fontaine, formerly a considerable military station, where a few companies of soldiers used to be quartered in comfortable barracks. There is a pleasant settlement along the banks of this river, up to the cantonment."²¹

¹⁸Houck, *A History of Missouri*, III, 160-162.

¹⁹Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 93.

²⁰J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County from the Earliest Periods to the Present Day*, (Philadelphia, Everts, 1883), I, 310.

²¹Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeys in the Valley of the Mississippi*, (Boston, Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), p. 111.

The British traveler, Thomas Ashe, who visited the settlements in Upper Louisiana in 1806, was often inaccurate and derogatory in his descriptions of what he saw. His description of the state of affairs in St. Louis seems rather exaggerated:

"It [St. Louis] contains about three hundred houses, eighteen hundred souls, and several extensive mercantile stores. . . This place had formerly the reputation of being extremely agreeable, and the inhabitants to be as virtuous as the people of St. Genevieve; but since the arrival of a host of Americans, the conduct, the manners, and the pursuits of the inhabitants are changed. Billiards and gaming of all sorts, are carried on to a shameful excess; and drunkenness, fighting, violence, and rapine are pursued with as much zeal as they are in the Virginian and Kentuckyan states.

"The environs are full of gardens and fruit trees, which in the proper season must perfume the air and be highly pleasing. One of the entertainments of the inhabitants is to rove in the fields and gardens after sun set, and enjoy the delightful odours of the flowers, or refresh themselves with fruits of exquisite taste and flavor."¹⁹

Another traveler, Christian Schultz, a German, described St. Louis in 1807: ". . . [St. Louis is] a French settlement. . . the inhabitants are chiefly Roman Catholics, and have a chapel and confessor. A small number of American families have of late years settled in this town, and have had so much influence as to give a decided American *ton* to the fashions of the place; but as their numbers are too few to erect a church of their own, they have, by way of *amusement*, made arrangements with the father confessor, to give them a little lecture in his chapel every Sunday evening.

"I observed two or three BIG houses in the town, which are said to have cost from twenty to sixty thousand dollars, but they have nothing either of beauty or taste in their appearance to recommend them, being simply *big*, heavy, and unsightly structures. In this country, however. . . they are considered as something not only grand, but even elegant."²⁰

¹⁹Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in 1806, for the Purpose of Exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and Ascertaining the Produce and Condition of Their Banks and Vicinity*, (Newburyport, Sawyer, 1808), pp. 290-291.

²⁰Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New-Orleans: Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles*, (New York, Isaac Riley, 1810), II, 39-40.

The year 1808 is notable for a number of reasons in the history of St. Louis, one of them being the establishment of the Missouri Fur Company.²¹ "In this trade St. Louis was the great emporium, most of the traders lived there, and all parties and outfits were organized and made up there. Great establishments were maintained for the convenience and development of this form of commerce, and St. Louis almost rivalled New York itself."²²

"...in 1808 Missouri had her first newspaper, *The Missouri Gazette*,"²³ edited by Joseph Charless, [an Irishman who came to Missouri from Kentucky]. The first copy appeared on July 12, 1808. A small paper, about eight by twelve inches, the *Gazette* was printed in two languages so that both French and American settlers could read it."²⁴

Scharf gives a description of the third number of the *Gazette*. He says that it is of four pages, that the first two are concerned with foreign news, and that the "editorial and local departments are made up of seven short paragraphs, one of which is a notice of the election. . . [of the trustees] for the town of St. Louis. . . The paper contains but four advertisements."²⁵

The *Gazette* had a circulation of 174 when it first came out, and by 1815 there were 500 "genuine patrons," and in 1820 the number was around 1,000.²⁶

Many of the subscribers appear to have paid for their subscriptions with various kinds of produce. In 1810 Charless, "Called upon those of his subscribers who had given their notes. . . to pay in flour or corn 'to bring it in directly,' and upon others who had promised to pay in beef or pork to deliver it as soon as possible, or their accounts would be placed in the magistrates hands."²⁷

A few months later Charless reminded his patrons that, "The weekly expense of publishing the *Louisiana Gazette* is upwards of twenty dollars. . ."²⁸

²¹For an account of the fur trade in Missouri see, "The Missouri Reader, The Fur Trade," edited by Ada P. Klein, *Missouri Historical Review*, XLIII (July, 1949), 360-380.

²²Walter Williams and Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri Mother of The West*, (Chicago, American Historical Society, 1930), I, 142.

²³The *Missouri Gazette* "existed under various names until 1919, when as the *St. Louis Republic* it was absorbed by the present *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*." (Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 256).

²⁴Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 256.

²⁵Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, I, 903-904.

²⁶*Ibid.*, I, 906.

²⁷*Ibid.*, I, 904.

²⁸*Ibid.*, I, 904.

The first book published in St. Louis and in Missouri was published in 1808. It was *The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana* and was compiled by Frederick Bates, secretary of the territory at the time.

"In 1809 St. Louis became an incorporated town by approval of the court of common pleas, although trustees had been elected the previous year when the citizens, in their haste, overlooked the necessity for approval of their petition of incorporation."⁹⁹

The first Board of Trustees of St. Louis which met in 1808 before the town was incorporated, was composed of Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, Bernard Pratte, Alexander McNair, and Edward Hempstead. It was "on a motion of Mr. Hempstead," and not one of the French members of the board, that the ordinances were written in French as well as English. The clerk received ten cents per one hundred words for copying the ordinances in English, and twenty cents for translating the same amount into French.¹⁰⁰

According to the *Minutes of the St. Louis Board of Trustees, 1808-1809*, the officers gave their attention to "an ordinance to prevent and restrain the Meeting and disorderly conduct of slaves; "an ordinance concerning the Prevention of fire;" "an ordinance concerning Butcheries and Slaughter houses in the Town;" "an ordinance concerning Patrols, an ordinance concerning the running of Horses in the Town;" and "an ordinance concerning [the cleaning of] Chimneys."¹⁰¹

The patrol established to keep order was made up of "male inhabitants. . .above the age of eighteen" who took turns serving on the police force, and a forfeit of one dollar was the penalty for not serving when asked. The ordinance establishing the patrol stated: "The said patrol shall be armed, shall have power to command order and silence to all persons found after nine o'clock in the streets or public highways in the said town of St. Louis disturbing the public tranquillity. . .to arrest all slaves found after nine o'clock. . .and conduct them to their master. . ."¹⁰²

Houck tells of the regulations concerning the association of free persons with slaves: "As to the. . .[slaves] any free person

⁹⁹Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, II, 799.

¹⁰⁰Historical Records Survey: *Missouri, Minutes of the St. Louis Board of Trustees, 1808-1809, Reprinted from the Original Manuscript Proceedings of Trustees of Town of St. Louis*, (St. Louis, December, 1940), p. 2.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, quoted from pp. 1-4.

¹⁰²Municipal ordinances quoted by Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, I, 737.

'associating with slaves at their balls or other amusements' was subject to a fine of ten dollars; if a free white person, free negro or mulatto was found in the company of an unlawful meeting of slaves he was subject to a fine of three dollars, and on failure to pay same it was ordained that such person 'shall receive on his or her naked back twenty lashes well laid on.' The whipping post of St. Louis was located where the courthouse now stands."²³

In *Astoria*, published after his visit to the West in 1832, Washington Irving retrogresses to give a description of St. Louis as he thought it was in 1810: "St. Louis. . . was, at that time, a frontier settlement, and the last fitting out place for the Indian trade of the south-west. It possessed a motley population composed of the creole descendants of the original French colonists; the keen traders from the Atlantic states; the backwoodmen of Kentucky and Tennessee; the Indians and half-breeds of the prairies; together with a singular aquatic race that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers. . .

"...Circumstances combined to produce a population at St. Louis even still more motley than that at Mackinaw. Here were to be seen about the river banks, the hectoring, extravagant, bragging boatmen of the Mississippi, with the gay, grimacing, singing, good-humored Canadian voyageurs. Vagrant Indians, of various tribes, loitered about the streets. Now and then a stark Kentucky hunter, in leathern hunting dress, with rifle on shoulder and knife in belt, strode along. Here and there were new brick houses and shops, just set up by bustling, driving, and eager men of traffic from the Atlantic states; while on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open casements, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists. . ."²⁴

It is thought that Irving used Gabriel Franchère's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814*, for background material for his description of St. Louis. In the second edition of his book published in 1845, Franchère, a fur trader, corrected Irving: "...an intimate knowledge of St. Louis, enable[s] me to correct Mr. Irving's poetical rather than accurate description of that place. . . Mr. Irving describes her as a small trading place, where trappers, half-breeds, gay, frivolous Canadian boatmen, etc., etc., congregated and revelled, with that lightness and buoyancy of spirit inherited from their French fore-

²³Houck, *A History of Missouri*, III, 163.

²⁴Washington Irving, *Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, (Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1836), I, 141-142.

fathers; the indolent Creole of St. Louis caring for little more than the enjoyment of the present hour; a motley population, half-civilized, half-barbarous, thrown, on his canvas, into one general confused. . . mass without respect of persons: but it is fair to say . . . that St. Louis even then contained its noble, industrious and I may say, princely merchants. . ."²⁸

Wilson P. Hunt, who had commanded the overland Astorian expedition to the Pacific in 1811, also took exception to Irving's description, especially as Irving linked him with the St. Louis described in *Astoria*. In a letter to John Jacob Astor written in 1836 Hunt says: "I have had a glimpse today of 'Astoria,' but have had time only to see some things that would have been well to have been otherwise expressed, what particularly struck me was a description of St. Louis in 1810 (as found by Mr. Hunt) which so varies from the situation of the place according to my views, it places me in rather an awkward position. St. Louis was always remarkable since I have known it for a degree of gentility among the better sort of its inhabitants and the correctness with which they spoke French. . . I am sorry my name is blended with a description of merely the Boatmen, Motlies, etc."²⁹

Houck tells of some of the ordinances and activities in St. Louis from 1810 to 1812: "In 1810 the first ordinance levying a license tax on tavern keepers, merchants, on barges, carriages, slaves, wheels of fortune, billiard tables, and on every dog over and above one for each family, was adopted. The dog tax was fixed at \$2 an animal. The total revenue from all sources only amounted to \$529.68 in that year. . .

"In 1811 rules and regulations were made for improving the streets of St. Louis. In that year the total revenue amounted to \$632.87, of which sum the Markethouse, then in the course of construction, absorbed \$420, and Mr. Charless received \$50 for printing the ordinances. In the same year the first ordinance punishing a breach of the Sabbath day was enacted, and it was distinctly ordained that no person should keep open 'any store for the purpose of vending goods or merchandise. . .'

²⁸Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814, or the First American Settlement on the Pacific*, Translated and edited by J. V. Huntington, (New York, Redfield, 1854), pp. 364-365.

²⁹Wilson P. Hunt, "Three Early Letters," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, VI (1931), 324-325.

"In 1812 the new Markethouse was built with fifteen stalls, and the rent for a stall was fixed by ordinance at ten dollars per annum."⁷⁷

The New Madrid earthquakes were felt in St. Louis in 1811, several chimneys being overthrown and a number of stone houses split.⁷⁸

Henri Marie Brackenridge, who had lived for a time in Ste. Genevieve when he was a child, returned to Upper Louisiana in 1811 and spent some time in St. Louis. He wrote of the place: "The town is built between the river and a second bank, three streets running parallel with the river, and a number of others crossing these at right angles. It is to be lamented that no space has been left between the town and the river; for the sake of the pleasure of the promenade, as well as for business and health. . . The site of St. Louis is not unlike that of Cincinnati. How different would have been its appearance, if built in the same elegant manner: its bosom opened to the breezes of the river, the stream gladdened by the enlivening scene of business and pleasure. . .

"From the opposite bank, St. Louis, notwithstanding, appears to great advantage. In a disjoined and scattered manner it extends along the river a mile and a half, and we form the idea of a large and elegant town. Two or three large and costly buildings (though not in the modern taste) contribute in producing this effect. On closer examination, the town seems to be composed of an equal proportion of stone walls, houses, and fruit trees: but the illusion still continues. . .

"There is a line of works on [the] second bank, erected for defense. . . These are at present entirely unoccupied and waste, excepting the fort in one of the buildings of which, the courts are held, while another is used as a prison. . .

"It [St. Louis] remained nearly stationary for two or three years after the cession; but it is now beginning to take a start, and its reputation is growing abroad. Every house is crowded, rents are high, and it is exceedingly difficult to procure a tenement on any terms. Six or seven houses were built in the course of the last season, and probably twice the number will be built the next. There is a printing office and twelve mercantile stores. The value

⁷⁷Houck, *A History of Missouri*, III, 165.

⁷⁸See Marion L. Fuller, *The New Madrid Earthquake*, Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey Bulletin 494, (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 22, 100.

of imports to this place in the course of the year, may be estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The outfits for the different trading establishments, on the Mississippi or Missouri, are made here. The lead of the Sac mines is brought to this place; the troops at Belle Fontaine put sixty thousand dollars in circulation annually. The settlers in the vicinity on both sides of the river, repair to this place as the best market for their produce, and to supply themselves with such articles as they may need.

"The manners of the inhabitants are not different from those in other villages; we distinctly see the character of the ancient inhabitants, and of the new residents, and a compound of both. St. Louis, however, was always a place of more refinement and fashion, it is the residence of many genteel families, both French and American.

"A few American mechanics, who have settled here, within a short time, are great acquisitions to the place; and there is still ample room for workmen of all kinds. There is a French school and an English one.

"St. Louis, will probably become one of those great reservoirs of the valley between the Rocky mountains and the Alleghany, from whence merchandise will be distributed to an extensive country. It unites the advantages of the three noble rivers, Mississippi, Illinois and Missouri. . . St. Louis will become the *Memphis* of the American Nile."⁹⁹

"At that day [1811] the population of St. Louis consisted of Canadian French, a few Spaniards, and other Europeans, with a somewhat larger proportion of Americans. It had less of the appearance of a rural village than St. Genevieve, the inhabitants not depending on agriculture for their subsistence, but on trade. . . A few individuals had acquired wealth; among them the family of Chouteau were the most distinguished, and their dwellings, which by comparison might be called palaces, towered above the more humble abodes of the plebeians, and less wealthy burghers. They were large stone edifices with galleries in front, and self-inclosed with massive stone walls like demi-fortresses. I made a visit to the elder Chouteau, a venerable-looking man, with a fine intellectual head, and was introduced to one of the largest private libraries I had seen, chiefly consisting of folio and quarto. . ."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹Henri Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana: Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri in 1811*, (Pittsburg, Cramer, Spear, and Elchbaum, 1814), pp. 120-124.

¹⁰⁰Henri Marie Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1868), pp. 230-231.



Mme. Marie Therese Chouteau House, St. Louis. Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

One day while Brackenridge was walking near the fort which was used for a prison he says: "My attention was attracted to one of the towers near the old Fort (in one of whose ruined barracks the court was still held) by a Indian who sat near the iron grate, confined as a prisoner for some high offense. The poor fellow beckoned to me to approach. . .He sat between the iron door, and the grating, with a checker-board before him. . .[He] asked me with a few broken words, part French and part English, to take a game with him. . .The game was played and lost by me."⁴¹

Through the use of an interpreter Brackenridge learned that the Indian was confined for killing his faithless wife on a street in St. Louis, and that he had been in jail for eighteen months before "it was determined to turn him over to the court of the Territory to be tried for the murder." Brackenridge, who was a lawyer, undertook the Indian's defense and won him his freedom by arguing that since the Indian was not a citizen he was not subject to the white man's laws or moral code, and as he had not killed a white man he should be judged and punished by his own rulers.⁴²

It was in 1812 that Congress "provided that all lots and outlots, common fields and commons in the villages of Portage des

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 242-43.

⁴²Account of trial taken from Brackenridge, *Recollections*, pp. 242-252.

Sioux, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Ferdinand (Florissant), Village à Robert, and Little Prairie, not rightfully the property of any private individual, should be granted to the town for school purposes. This grant has been said to be the foundation on which St. Louis and other cities built public school systems."⁴³

The War of 1812 caused more concern in St. Louis than it did in the districts to the south, and the ". . . St. Louis citizens were quite alarmed over the situation. The trustees of the town of St. Louis met to make plans for defense in 1812. . . The next February there was a general town meeting and a committee appointed to draft defense plans. A militia company to defend the town was formed and 500 mounted scouts organized."⁴⁴

Later the inhabitants of St. Louis helped to form militia companies to help the northern settlers, for the activities of the belligerents did not reach St. Louis.

There were few instances of serious trouble with the Indians in St. Louis; but there were some, and in 1815 Hannah Lewis, according to her published story, was taken prisoner near St. Louis along with her three children by Indians who had scalped her husband. The title of her book almost tells her whole story: *Narrative of The Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Hannah Lewis, and Her Three Children Who Were Taken Prisoners by the Indians, near St. Louis, on the 25th May, 1815, and among Whom They Experienced All the Cruel Treatment which Savage Brutality Could Inflict—Mrs. Lewis, and Her Eldest Son Fortunately Made Their Escape on the 3d April Last, Leaving Her Two Younger Children in the Hands of the Cruel Barbarians.*⁴⁵

This is the first of a two-part article on St. Louis District and County. Part two will appear in October.

⁴³Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 258.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, I, 291.

⁴⁵Hannah Lewis, *Narrative*. . . (Boston, H. Trumbull, 1817).

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY

Highway travelers through your county may be missing some spot of historic interest because the site isn't marked. If you know of such an unmarked site that people all over the state might be interested in, won't you write the Society about it?

The Society is inaugurating the new state highway marker program by making a survey of historic places of state-wide interest which are located along or near highways in Missouri. The markers will conserve and dramatize Missouri history for both the home folks and tourists who pass through the state.

There are few counties in Missouri that have not witnessed some state-wide historic event or been the home of at least one person of national fame.

You can help with this program by sending for our brief questionnaire, which has been prepared for your convenience, to facilitate your description of the location, appearance, and historical connections of sites you think should be marked.

We tabulate and record all sites reported so that any markers not permitted by the budget at this time may be considered later. This inventory of sites is the initial step in the program, which is expected to extend over several years. The marking of places of more strictly local concern will be left in the hands of interested individuals and organizations of the locality.

I'll look forward to receiving site suggestions and requests for our questionnaire from every Society member who is interested in this project.

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the two months of March and April, 1952, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

THIRTY-SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Dawson, Mrs. Lerton V., Excelsior Springs

SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Shoemaker, Floyd C., Columbia

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Limbaugh, Rush H., Cape Girardeau

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Evans, Mrs. C. A., Chicago, Illinois

Long, Mrs. A. H., Cadet

Motley, Mrs. Robert L., Bowling Green

Thornton, Mrs. E. J., Kansas City

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Bushnell, Sam C., St. Charles

Dyer, Clyde C., St. Louis

Jones, Robert N., St. Louis

Myers, Dayton, Kansas City

Shoemaker, Mrs. Floyd C., Columbia

Trauernicht, Carl, St. Louis

Withers, Mrs. Robert S., Liberty

ONE NEW MEMBER

Aker, Mrs. E. G., Parkville

Armstrong, W. S., Shamrock

Black, Arline, Liberty

Bradley, Chester A., Kansas City

Brown, J. Warner, Kansas City

Chiles, Mrs. Henry C., Lexington

Deason, George B., Hannibal

Dieckgrafe, Elnor A., St. Louis

Dobson, Dixie Dale, Dallas, Texas

Dorsett, E. Lee, Webster Groves

Ewald, William B., Kirkwood

Flanigan, John H., Carthage

Goodwillie, Frank W., Jr., Kansas City

Haley, F. C., III, Louisiana

Howdeshell, C. Leo, Elsberry

Koenig, Walter J., Perryville

McFarland, Mrs. J. H., West Plains

Mercille, Earl J., Jennings

Misselhorn, Roscoe, Sparta, Illinois

Mueller, Mrs. Paul A., Jackson

Muench, Max S., St. Louis

Nath, Mrs. George, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Neuhoff, Dorothy A., St. Louis

Patterson, Mrs. Maude G., St. Louis

Rhodes, O. R., Gideon

Richards, Mrs. Dona, St. Louis

Smith, Mary Ann, Fayette

Spitz, L. W., St. Louis

Stidham, J. H., Fulton

Sullivan, S. H., Sullivan

Wagenfuehr, A., St. Louis

Williams, Marcia, O'Fallon

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One hundred ninety-five applications for membership were received by the Society during the two months of March and April, 1952. The total membership as of April 30, 1952, is 5732.

The new members are:

Adams, Noel T., Princeton

Angle, Rufus, Louisiana

Arnold, Doris, Shelbyville

Arnold, Ernest R., St. Louis

Balsiger, H. H., Crystal City

Bankhead, Bess, Clarksville

Barkley, Elizabeth, Palmyra

Barksdale, Clarence M., St. Louis

- Barnes, Jack, Jr., University City
 Barnhill, Mrs. Porter, Bowling Green
 Barrett, J. M., Napton
 Beason, Robert G., Kansas City
 Beck, Kay Ann, Trenton
 Berbercia, Alfred C., Ozark
 Bethel, Allan L., Richmond Heights
 Blockberger, C. A., Excelsior Springs
 Branaugh, Catherine, Potosi
 Brayer, Herbert O., Evanston, Ill.
 Brown, Mildred, Boonville
 Buckman, J. M., Shelbyna
 Burk, Mrs. Hettie, Shelbyville
 Burruss, Sewal, Grand Pass
 Butler, Mrs. Robert, Springfield
 Callan, R. H., Trenton
 Campbell, Mrs. E. C., Excelsior Springs
 Carmichael, G. Carson, Shelbyville
 Carroll, Glen, Excelsior Springs
 Chamberlain, Mrs. Barbara H., Columbia
 Chamber of Commerce, Excelsior Springs
 Clough, Robert S., Columbia
 Colwell, Mrs. Frank S., Excelsior Springs
 Cornish, Stephen, Clarksville
 Cranmer, T. R., Kansas City
 Craven, M. T., Excelsior Springs
 Craven, Mrs. William A., Excelsior Springs
 Crist, Robert E., Shelbyna
 Croy, Wallace, Tarkio
 Davis, Mrs. Maxine, Excelsior Springs
 Davis, Mrs. R. F., Gainesville, Ga.
 Day, Mrs. Paul, Hope, Arkansas
 Donovan, Myra, New London
 Drew, Mrs. Ed., Caledonia
 Duerr, William R., Kansas City
 Duncan, Helen K., Liberty
 Edwards, Lucile, St. Charles
 Erskine, George J., Excelsior Springs
 Esther, Mrs. Vincil, Linn Creek
 Excelsior Printing & Stationery Co., Excelsior Springs
 Frick, Mrs. F. Alan, Norfolk, Va.
 Frick, William Q., Warrenton
 Funk, Clyde M., Phoenix, Arizona
 Gaines, Kate, Excelsior Springs
 Gerdeman, George, Warrenton
 Gerlash, John M., Tarkio
 Gipson, A. R., Unionville
 Giebel, Mrs. Virginia Dale, Dallas Texas
 Gilluly, Robert V., Trenton
 Grace, Mrs. John F., Excelsior Springs
 Gregg, J. R., Boonville
 Greim Prescription Shop, Excelsior Springs
 Hafford, Albert, Trenton
 Halcomb, M. E., Harrisonville
 Haley, J. Evetts, Canyon, Texas
 Hall, P. D., Excelsior Springs
 Hart, Mrs. Bernard, Warsaw
 Heiderstadt, Dorothy, Independence
 Helge, E. W., Excelsior Springs
 Henrickson, William E., Poplar Bluff
 Hewitt, John H., Excelsior Springs
 Hicks, Olan L., Abilene, Texas
 Higbee, W. A., Lancaster
 Higdon, J. E., El Paso, Texas
 Hilton, Glen C., Excelsior Springs
 Hinn, Mrs. Carl P., Excelsior Springs
 Hodgins, Stella W., Excelsior Springs
 Hoffman, Mrs. H. F., Trenton
 Holke, Mrs. Alfred W., Higginsville
 Holmes, P. A., Mt. Vernon
 Hughes, Ora, Bolivar
 Hull, R. N., Elsberry
 Hunt, Mrs. Glenn, Kansas City
 Hyde, Mrs. A. M., Trenton
 Jacob, Harold, Atascadero, Calif.
 James, Mr. & Mrs. Robert F., Kearney
 John, Mrs. Ernest, Chicago, Illinois
 Jones, Mrs. Elmer O., La Plata
 Jones, J. B., Kirksville
 Kenning, R. H., Excelsior Springs
 Kimber, Mrs. H. E., Excelsior Springs
 Kirby, Frederick J., Liberty
 Kull, Harry G., Sr., Richmond
 Landrum, C. W., Waverly
 Lawrence, Mrs. Irwin, No. Kansas City
 Leach, Mrs. John H., Kirkwood
 Lenz, Mrs. Ray, Boonville
 Lewis, Chas. S., Excelsior Springs

- Liesenberg, Leon, Kansas City
 Limbaugh, Burette, Sedgewickville
 Limbaugh, Manley O., Chester, Ill.
 Limbaugh, Stephen N., Cape Girardeau
 Lintvet, Mrs. Don, Lexington
 Logue, Mrs. Hollis H., Excelsior Springs
 Lowe, Frank M., San Diego, Calif.
 McGreevy, W. C., Springfield
 McKinnis, Mrs. Lois K., Cape Girardeau
 McShane, Malcolm, Mt. Vernon
 McWilliams, J. P., Bucklin
 Marble Hill School, Poplar Bluff
 Marshall, Phil, Paris, France
 Martin, Mrs. Elsie, Santa Monica, California
 Martin, F. C., Sullivan
 Mason, Richard T., Perryville
 Miller, Ray G., Jr., Cape Girardeau
 Mitchell, Roy, St. Louis
 Moody, Mrs. Courtney E., San Ysidro, California
 Moore, Richard A., Excelsior Springs
 Morris, Gertrude M., Excelsior Springs
 Morse, Mrs. E. L., Excelsior Springs
 Mudd, Joe, O'Fallon
 Murfin, Elmer, Houston
 Myerson, S. R., Excelsior Springs
 Nath, Mrs. George, Cheyenne, Wyoming
 Norton, E. H., Jefferson City
 Nunn, R. P., Bowling Green
 Oberholtz, L. E., Kansas City
 Offutt, William, Excelsior Springs
 O'Neal, Mrs. E. C., Sweet Springs
 Owens, Mrs. T. J. Santa Cruz, Calif.
 Ozark Regional Library, Potosi
 Patterson, Mrs. Maude G., St. Louis
 Payne, Mrs. William, Excelsior Springs
 Pemberton, James A., Shelbyna
 Peters, Leroy W., University City
 Petersmeyer, Fred D., Warrenton
 Petty, Mrs. Arthur, Versailles
 Phillips, Hugh, Camdenton
 Phillips, Mrs. Kathleen L., Florence
 Pike, J. C., Bolivar
 Plattner, W. J., Grand Pass
 Powell, C. N., Excelsior Springs
 Prichard, Claude, Excelsior Springs
 Pugh, U. R., Liberty
 Pyatt, Julian D., Trenton
 Quarles, Johnny, Moberly
 Quast, Mrs. Anthony J., Deer Lodge, Montana
 Rader, Mrs. Ralph, Richmond
 Randall, James J., Monett
 Rankin, J. D., Tarkio
 Ratherford, Ernestine, Gorin
 Ray, Elmer B., Shelbyna
 Reals, Willis H., St. Louis
 Rendahl, Rodger E., Boonville
 Reynolds, W. F., Ava
 Rhodes, Marion, Alexandria, Virginia
 Riley, Lee Hunter, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
 Robinson, Mrs. Virginia D. T., Lakewood, Colorado
 Rolan, James, Kansas City
 Rosin, Wilbert H., Concordia
 Runge, A. C., Trenton
 Schaberg, George L., St. Louis
 Schiffer, Mrs. Chas. E., Arco, Idaho
 Schneider, Cyril A., St. Peters
 Sherwood, Malcolm, Branson
 Sherwood, Sam C., Excelsior Springs
 Short, Don L., Excelsior Springs
 Sisk, Wilbur, Excelsior Springs
 Smith, Akey R., Plattsburg
 Smith, Hugh Breckenridge, Excelsior Springs
 Snider, H. Hugh, Excelsior Springs
 Soper, Allen B., Jr., Slater
 Steele, Mrs. Betty T., Kansas City
 Stewart, Walter H., Farmington
 Stockton Public Schools, Stockton
 Strathman, Mrs. Olive, Excelsior Springs
 Studabaker, D. F., Lucerne
 Swanson, Mrs. J. N., Kingsville
 Thayer, Mrs. K. E., Fayette
 Theis, Harry, St. Louis
 Thomas, John R., St. Louis
 Thompson, E. P., Shelbyville
 Thornton, Mrs. E. J., Kansas City
 Tillman, Walter W., Springfield

Trisler, James A., Bachelor	Williams, W. K., Mt. Vernon
Turley, Lester F., El Monte, Calif.	Wilson, E. L., Excelsior Springs
Underwood, Mr. & Mrs. R. H., Kansas City, Kansas	Winetroub, Mrs. Carey, Shelbyville
Wade, Fred O., Ozark	Woodyard, Mrs. Minnie L. F. T., Pueblo, Colorado
Walden, E. A., Lewistown, Montana	Worden, David O., Venice, California
White, Kelton E., Arcadia	Ziegler, M. E., Ste. Genevieve

SOCIETY TO LOAN PAINTINGS

The Society has been honored recently by a request to loan two of its canvases to the Smithsonian Institution for its Traveling Exhibition Service which was launched late in 1951 under the direction of the National College of Fine Arts. The Society was most happy to comply with the request and arrangements have been made to loan "View of Weston, Missouri," by Augustus G. Beller, and "Watching the Cargo," by George Caleb Bingham.

The Smithsonian plans to present the exhibition in three of the largest cities in the Western Zone of Germany beginning November 1, 1952, to aid in the current reorientation program.

VALUABLE DOCUMENT GIVEN THE SOCIETY

Through the courtesy of Andrew Fletcher, president of the St. Joseph Lead Company, the Society is in receipt of the original Spanish grant for the land that is now U. S. Survey No. 467 on which his company started operations in 1864. The land was granted to Jean Baptiste Pratte, Jr., in 1797 by Don Carlos Dehault Delassus and later was confirmed by the survey of Anthony Soulard. After permanent repairs and preservation treatment, this valuable document will be placed in the Society's manuscript collection.

This original land grant was rediscovered in the St. Joseph Lead Company's vaults by one of our trustees, Henry C. Thompson, while doing some historical research for his company.

DAVID M. WARREN SETS A RECORD

A grand total of thirty-three life memberships in the State Historical Society of Missouri, given to persons interested in their state's history, is the record set by David M. Warren, of Panhandle, Texas, one of the warmest, and most generous, of the Society's many loyal friends. By the time the July, 1951, *Missouri Historical Review* was ready for the press, Mr. Warren had given twenty-

four life memberships; in the January issue he was credited with one more; and now (in April) he has given eight additional ones, making a total of thirty-three. That is a record that will be hard to beat but, of course, we'd like to have you try it. A life membership in your State Historical Society costs only \$20.

LIBERTY TRIBUNE RECEIVES AWARD OF MERIT

The annual dinner meeting of the Clay County Missouri Historical Society held in the Presbyterian Church in Liberty on April 7 was a special event for it marked the reactivation of the society and the presentation to the *Liberty Advance* and *Tribune* of an Award of Merit. The award, given by the American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting in Newark, Delaware, on June 15, 1951, was granted the *Tribune* and *Advance* for being the most outstanding weekly newspapers in the Missouri River states region, made up of seven states, in their contributions to local history during the previous twelve months, with particular mention being made of the series of articles by Robert S. Withers.

After the invocation by Dr. H. I. Hester, Arthur L. Reppert, president of the Clay County Historical Society, introduced Floyd C. Shoemaker, who, in presenting the award to Eugene L. Preston, editor, traced the history of the three families who had largely controlled the paper's policies since the founding of the *Tribune* on April 4, 1846, by Robert H. Miller. Preston's response expressed his appreciation of the honor bestowed and of the help given him by his loyal contributors and readers. Others on the program were: Russel V. Dye, grandson of the founder, who spoke on "Robert H. Miller, Tribune Founder and Editor for Forty Years"; Mrs. Robert S. Withers, who talked on "Irving Gilmer, Publisher and Editor, 1889-1929"; Robert S. Withers who spoke on "Liberty Tribune Readers"; and Chester A. Bradley, *Kansas City Star* editor of "Missouri Notes" who chose "Missouri" as his subject.

Mrs. Lerton V. Dawson of Excelsior Springs added an unusual feature to the program when she presented Mr. Shoemaker with a check for \$37 for the membership dues of that many new Excelsior Springs members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Mrs. Dawson had made a personal solicitation for Society memberships in Excelsior Springs the previous week with the above result.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boonslick Historical Society held its annual spring meeting May 2 at the Baptist Church in Armstrong. James A. Burkhardt, of Stephens College spoke on "The Missouri Mule."

The Clay County Historical Society held its annual dinner meeting in the Presbyterian Church in Liberty on April 7. The program was highlighted by the presentation of an Award of Merit to the Liberty *Tribune* and *Advance* after which officers were elected as follows: Ernest L. Capps, president; Russel V. Dye, vice-president; Mrs. J. D. Gray, secretary; Kathryn McKinley, treasurer; and Eugene L. Preston, historian.

A Grundy County Historical Society is in the process of organization. The movement is being sparked by plans to restore the 118-year-old W. P. Thompson home near Edinburgh, Grundy County's first permanent type residence, according to an article in the *Trenton Republican Times* of April 7. Charles Dye, Trenton businessman, has offered an option on the property to the group of persons who are interested in forming a historical society.

The Laclede County Historical Society met March 7 at the Lebanon public library. New officers were elected as follows: Frances E. Gleason, president; Dallas Vernon, vice-president; Mrs. E. F. Barlow, secretary; and J. H. Easley, treasurer.

The Native Sons of Kansas City met March 27 at the Kansas City Museum for a fried chicken dinner and program. Bob J. Benson spoke on the dioramas, D. E. Farrar gave a talk on "The Kansas City Southern Railroad System in Retrospect," and Director C. G. Wilder showed the planetarium.

One current project of the society is that of providing a dignified access to Union cemetery in Kansas City where many of the pioneer citizens are buried. Included in the project is the plan to erect a memorial monument to the pioneers, a plan which has long been advocated by Frank Clay Wornall, a Native Son.

NOTES

The First Congregational Church of St. Louis celebrated its centennial with an anniversary dinner, May 13, a historical pageant,

May 14, and a worship service on Sunday, May 16. The Rev. Dr. Truman Marcellus Post was the first pastor of the church which was organized with seventy-seven charter members on May 14, 1852. The Rev. Dr. Ellis Walker Hay is the present pastor.

Christ Episcopal Church of St. Joseph observed its hundredth anniversary on Sunday, April 20, with a special centennial service. An eight-page booklet giving the order of service also included "A Brief History of Christ Church" by Bartlett Boder.

Local Number 945, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America of Jefferson City, celebrated its golden anniversary December 1, 1951, with a banquet at the Governor Hotel in Jefferson City. A booklet of forty-six pages, giving a history of the Local, was prepared for the occasion by a committee composed of Oscar H. Jens, George L. Wageley, and George Clark.

A reprint of an article by Robert M. Crisler and Mahlon S. Hunt, "Recreation Regions of Missouri," which appeared in *The Journal of Geography* in January, 1952, has been sent to the Society by Dr. Crisler. The authors' purpose in the study is to determine whether it is practical to divide a state into recreation regions, so using Missouri as an experimental ground they suggest eight major regions in each of which the recreational elements have homogeneity.

On April 3 at 5 P. M., the Boy Scouts of the Pony Express Council of St. Joseph placed a wreath, which was furnished by the St. Joseph Historical Society, at the base of the Pony Express statue in the Civic Center to commemorate the beginning of the famous service inaugurated by Russell, Majors, and Waddell in 1860. On April 13, the date on which the mail on the first run reached Sacramento, Calif., the scouts removed the wreath in a brief ceremony.

The Missouri Society of Washington, D. C., joined with a number of other state societies in the nation's capital in a reception and dance on March 15 for the "Cherry Blossom Princesses" of the combined societies. The affair was held in the Terrace banquet room of the Shoreham hotel. James H. Pearson is currently president of the Missouri Society and Wendell Allen, secretary.

A memorial program for "Negro History Week" was held at Tandy Center, St. Louis, on February 15. Speakers on the program were Irving Dilliard, Prof. Herman Dreer, Mrs. John T. Clark, N. A. Sweet, the Rev. James E. Cook, DeWitte Lawson, and R. L. Witherspoon.

Major General Gerald C. Thomas, a native of Slater, has been awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for "outstanding service" in the Korean conflict. A marine veteran of both world wars, he assumed command of a marine unit in China in 1948 and of the First Marine Division of World War II veterans in Korea in April, 1951.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has purchased from David T. Vernon of Evanston, Ill., through the agency of Herbert O. Brayer of the same city, a valuable manuscript of Civil War days—"Reminiscences of Wm. Bull of War Between the States, 1861-65." In 1861 William Bull of St. Louis joined the "National Guard Engineer Corps of Missouri," a unit sympathetic with the Southern cause, and he fought through four years of the war on the Southern side. His reminiscences include a diary kept from June 18, 1862, through January 22, 1863, and a summary of his later years during eight of which he was inspector general of the state national guard, 1885-93.

The Society has recently come into possession of a letter, the gift of Don D. John of Louisville, Ky., which describes in glowing terms the richness of the state of Missouri. Written at Parkville, January 20, 1858, by Linton (the last name is not given) to James W. Stallings of Kentucky, the letter urges James to come to Platte County and go in partnership with him in some business.

A tombstone of rather unusual interest was found recently by J. W. Stewart, editor of the *Bonne Terre Bulletin*, in a small cemetery two or three miles north of Silver Springs. It marked the grave of George McGuire who was born July 3, 1773, and who died at the almost incredible age of 110 years, 10 months, on May 24, 1884.

A tour of Clay County homes and gardens, under the auspices of the Rural Garden Club, was made June 7 and 8. Entitled "Homes and Gardens through the Years," the tour included both historic old homes and new dwellings.

A tour of historical sites and homes in Lexington was held May 18 under the sponsorship of the Business and Professional Women's Club of that city.

One of the unique gifts which came to the office of the Society recently is a box of note paper decorated with "landmark sketches" of historic spots in Missouri. The artist is Lynn Lintvet (Mrs. Donald S.), Route 1, Lexington, and she has combined, in an attractive box, twelve sheets and twelve envelopes showing four scenes of Missouri: Thespian Hall, Boonville; Mark Twain's home, Hannibal; the state capitol in Jefferson City; and the "columns" on the University of Missouri campus. These, with historical data on each, sell for \$1.

An article by C. C. Tjssler in the *Daily Republican Times* of Ottawa, Ill., tells of some priceless relics of the Civil War owned by Dr. Hugh E. Black of LaSalle, Ill. Among them is a letter from a Robert Pollack written to Lt. Col. Thomas B. Black of the Third Missouri Cavalry who was in a skirmish near Hartville, Mo., in January of 1863, from which he escaped unhurt, with thirteen bullet holes in his coat.

The last remains of Missouri's secessionist seat of government during the Civil War, in Marshall, Texas, has now been razed to make room for "a more modern structure," according to its owner, Lew Bates. For a picture and further data on this building see the *Missouri Historical Review*, January, 1951, pp. 134-37.

Attention has been called before to the excellent series of historical articles by Ward L. Schrantz which has been appearing each Thursday in the *Carthage Evening Press* for several years but special notice should also be taken of the fine pictures which have been accompanying the articles. Some of them date from Civil War days and they are an invaluable source of information for that period and the next few decades. A few articles of special interest have been: "Carthage Progress, Brawls and July 4 Celebration of 1879"; "Rebuilding after 1880 Fire Starts—Dr. Caffee New Mayor"; "Cyclonic Storm Circles Square and Toys with Town, May 8, 1880"; "High School Commencement of 1881"; and "New Railway Progresses in 1881."

Echoes of a bygone era in newspaperdom are contained in "Missouri Notes" by Chester A. Bradley in the *Kansas City Times* of February 18, where he tells of the discontinuance of ready-print by the Western Newspaper Union. Rural weeklies used to be half local news and advertising printed in the local town, and half "patent insides" or pages printed by WNU in the nearest big city and shipped to the newspaper. Typesetting machines, cylinder presses, and advertising doomed ready-print.

General Robert E. Wood, according to an article by John T. Alexander in the *Kansas City Star* of February 27, is quite a man. Born in Kansas City, the general at the age of seventy-two is president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, the sixth biggest corporation, in dollar volume of sales, in the United States.

Fire that on February 21 destroyed the New Nelson building at Missouri Ave. and Main St., Kansas City, removed an old landmark which was the center of Kansas City's business life in the 1890's. An article on that era and the buildings surrounding the New Nelson appeared in the *Kansas City Times* of March 4 under the authorship of John J. Doohan.

Hugh P. Williamson, an assistant attorney general of Missouri is the author of an interesting story in the *Kansas City Times* of March 18 on the Civil War experiences of an aunt of one of his uncles, Mathilda Williamson of Carrollton, Mo. Mathilda's husband, James A. Pritchard, joined the Confederate army in 1861 and in November, 1862, was reported as killed and buried in Coffeyville, Miss. Mathilda and Shan, her slave, made the trip to Mississippi in the dead of winter, through the lines of battle, intending to bring back James' body but decided against it later.

Chester A. Bradley in his "Missouri Notes" in the *Kansas City Times* of March 27, came up with some information on state gasoline taxes which some of you may not know. It seems that for years Missouri had the lowest gasoline tax in the nation, two cents. The recent one cent increase passed by the current legislature, which will go into effect late this summer, made Missouri one of the three lowest, for she now shares that place with New Jersey and Wyoming.

In Bradley's comparison, if you classify Missouri as a southern state you will find that with the exception of Texas, Missouri is the only southern state with a tax lower than five cents, and with the additional exception of Arizona and Maryland, the only one

lower than six cents. Only fifteen states in the Union have a tax lower than five cents. Louisiana has the highest, nine cents a gallon.

Another point brought out in the article is that Missouri is one of the twenty-one states having anti-diversion amendments in their constitutions which restrict the gasoline tax to highway purposes. Missouri was one of the first to adopt this amendment (1928) which only three other southern states have, Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia.

John A. Sutter, on whose California property gold was discovered in 1848, made April fools of his many pressing creditors when he slipped out of Westport early in the morning of April 1, 1838, to start for the West. Robert G. Beason tells of this less well-known chapter of Sutter's life in an article in the *Kansas City Star* of April 1, 1952.

Josiah Gregg, whose *Commerce of the Prairies* is a classic of the early West, is the subject of an article by J. Frank Dobie in the *Kansas City Star* of April 25. Gregg, who lived most of his youth in Missouri, first traveled the Santa Fe Trail in 1830 and from then until his death in 1850 he was not content to be away from the great plains.

An article by Dan Spies appeared in the *Lexington Advertiser-News* of April 8 describing the blowing up of the steamboat *Saluda* near Lexington 100 years ago. A short article by Charles Gunther adds additional details.

John R. Hall of Marshall is the author of a series of historical paragraphs about events in Saline County which are being published at irregular intervals in the *Marshall Daily Democrat News*. The first one, on the rat plague of 1877, appeared on April 5.

There is still speculation as to what happened to the loot Jesse James may have left when he was killed in 1882. An article by Lafe Williams in the *St. Joseph Gazette* of April 11 tells of some of the speculations on its location.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Early Histories of St. Louis. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Founda-

tion, 1952. 171 pp.) This collection of the first historical sketches of the founding and early years of St. Louis which are based on primary sources is made up of six selections of writings by citizens of the town itself. The basic one is Auguste Chouteau's "Narrative," the only eye-witness story of the founding, and his later testimony given before the recorder of land titles in 1825. Others are: John A. Paxton's "Notes on St. Louis" which accompanied his *St. Louis Directory for 1821*; Lewis C. Beck's ten-page passage in his *Gazetteer*, written in the same year; an article by "A Creole" in the *St. Louis Beacon* of January 24, 1831, which was the first detailed statement in print of the founding; an essay by Wilson Primmi delivered before the St. Louis Lyceum in 1831; and Joseph N. Nicolle's "Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis," written in 1842. The editor has oriented the reader and added greatly to the value of the book with a thirty-nine-page introduction which tells of other comments on St. Louis by early travelers, and attempts, largely based on the six primary sources, to write a history of the town. Included also is a valuable "Chronology for the Early History of St. Louis" from 1729 through 1821.

Mr. President. By William Hillman. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952. 253 pp.) Astonishing in that it is the revelation of the intimate thoughts of a President while he is still in office, this volume nevertheless tells little that was not already known about Harry S. Truman as man and President. It is documentary history, though, and might well be accepted as the acme in reporting, for what man before William Hillman has ever been presented with the opportunity which presented itself to him when, during a series of special interviews with the President, the idea of this book emerged, based on Truman's diaries, private papers, and correspondence and supplemented by a section, written by the President himself, on his early life. The result reveals Truman as a student of history, an affectionate husband and father, and an executive who has had to cope with tremendous problems. Truman realized, of course, that he has served during momentous years and this book is quite evidently an attempt to "keep the record straight" on his policies, convictions, and achievements.

History of the Scottish Rite Valley of St. Louis Orient of Missouri. By James B. Steiner and James W. Skelly. (Kirksville: Journal Printing Co., [1950]. 390 pp.) This volume opens with a historical sketch of the Scottish Rite which traces it from the

year 1758 when the "Rite of Perfection" was originated in Paris. The authors have carefully gone over the minutes of the four bodies of the Rite in Missouri and the organizations within it and much other source material, including consultation with a great many members of the Scottish Rite, to secure their information. The format of the book, the pictures, and paper are excellent and the good index makes it a valuable addition to Masonic files.

Dred Scott's Case. By Vincent C. Hopkins, S. J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1951. 204 pp.) The author has given the history of the Dred Scott case from the time it was instituted on April 6, 1846, to the date of the final decision by the supreme court of the United States on March 6, 1857, which declared that the Negro, Scott, was not free by reason of his removal to Illinois or to Wisconsin Territory as decided by the Missouri court, and that not being a citizen of Missouri he was not entitled to sue in the Federal courts. In deciding Scott's case the judges discussed the many other issues involved which were the vital questions of the day. Clearly presented and well annotated, this book leaves little else to be said on the subject of this famous case.

Essentials of Missouri Government. Second edition. By Robert F. Karsch. (Columbia, Mo.: Lucas Brothers, 1952. 156 pp.) This edition of Prof. Karsch's book is even more satisfying and informative than the first for he has added a number of very fine maps and charts and has enlarged others to make them clearer and more useable. He has also incorporated important developments made by the 66th General Assembly including the two constitutional amendments. The book could scarcely be improved upon for a clear, orderly presentation of the essentials of Missouri government, fitted to the college student, but also easily understandable by those of high school age. The author has done an immense service to the teaching of Missouri government by the publication of this text.

The Kansas City Star. By the editor. [(Kansas City: Kansas City Star, 1952. 41 pp.)] Founded by William Rockhill Nelson in 1880 as a four-page afternoon daily sometimes labeled the "Twilight Twinkler," the *Star* now has a circulation of 720,000 papers a day in an area within a 200-mile radius of Kansas City. This pamphlet gives thumb nail portraits of the men primarily responsible for its growth from the tremendous personality of its founder right on through Roy

Roberts, the present president and general manager, and Henry J. Haskell, editor.

Waters over Linn Creek Town. By Ralph Alan McCanse. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1951. 119 pp.) Little glens sleeping in the shade, Zion creek loitering in a tranquil pool just made for "baptizin'," and other word pictures of the Linn Creek area in the Ozarks make this little volume of narrative poetry good reading. When the Lake of the Ozarks was created in 1931 by the completion of Osage Dam, parts of five counties were submerged. The heart-aches of the old settlers who were thus dispossessed of cherished home sites and idyllic beauty spots are described here with admirable restraint, and a fine introduction by Robert L. Ramsay sets the stage for the home-spun drama.

And Then We'll Be Rich. By Clare Bell. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951. 284 pp.) This delightful story of a "reluctant pioneer" on a run-down apple orchard in the Ozarks is filled with humor and interest a-plenty. Clare, fresh from a Long Island Home and with no taste for roughing it, finds herself suddenly thrust into the role of nursing an orchard back to productiveness to pay off the mortgage while her husband is busy in Kansas City promoting schemes to make them all rich. How she succeeds is well told in this volume.

The High Calling. By James Street. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1951. 308 pp.) London Wingo, the hero of James Street's former novel, *The Gauntlet*, returns, in this novel, to the scene of his first pastorate, Linden, Missouri, and there meets with the usual problems which often beset small town Baptist ministers as well as those of other denominations. The author, himself a former minister, knows whereof he writes, so the story is convincing but rather overloaded with inconsequential details.

Trail Driving Days. Text by Dee Brown: Picture research by Martin F. Schmitt. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. 264 pp.) The size and splendid format of this volume is in keeping with the magnificence of the subject covered—the history of the golden days of the "rip-roaring trail towns," free-shooting rustlers, and bloody feuds between stockmen and homesteaders. Accompanying the 229 unusual and definitely noteworthy photographs and

sketches is a well-written running text giving the fascinating story of the wide open West from about 1840 to the end of the century. The only post-war cattle drive mentioned in this book which had a town in Missouri as its destination was one in 1866 which headed for Sedalia but was stopped at Baxter Springs, Kansas, by irate farmers.

Cloud on the Land. By Julia Davis. (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1951. 404 pp.) The hero of this historical novel is young Angus McLeod, a Virginia plantation owner, who, seeking his fortune in the West in 1822, acquires a wife before he reaches St. Louis and a family in the nine years he is manager at Ft. Recovery, up the Missouri River. The "cloud on the land" is the slavery issue and Angus' wife, Lucy, who does not believe in the Peculiar Institution, has to face the issue squarely on her return to Virginia in the thirties. Crude frontier living conditions in the West as well as the sheltered way of life on the plantation are ably described by the author.

OBITUARIES

OSCAR EDMUND BERNINGHAUS: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 2, 1874; died in Taos, N. Mex., Apr. 27, 1952. An outstanding painter of life in southwestern U. S., he was a student at the St. Louis School of Fine Arts. He is represented by five murals in the state capitol at Jefferson City and his works appear in the permanent collections of the City Art Museum, St. Louis, and in museums in Fort Worth, Tex., Erie, Pa., and San Antonio, Tex. The winner of numerous prizes in art, he was named an associate of the National Academy in 1926. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

EDWARD BURR: Born in Boonville, Mo., May 19, 1859; died in Washington, D. C., Apr. 15, 1952. A graduate of West Point in 1882, and a veteran of the Spanish-American War and World War I, he retired from the army in 1923 with the rank of brigadier general. A military engineer of note, he designed and built the first steel canal gates in America at the Cascade Locks on the Columbia River. He became a consulting engineer in New York City after his retirement from the army.

HENRI CHOUTEAU: Born in Deadwood, S. Dak., Sept. 25, 1889; died in St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 14, 1952. A lineal descendant of Auguste Chouteau, co-founder of St. Louis, he was long active in Republican

politics. He served as state representative from the old Fourth District, 1925-1926. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

ELLA VICTORIA DOBBS: Born in Cedar Rapids, Ia., June 11, 1866; died in Macon, Mo., Apr. 13, 1952. Professor emeritus of applied arts at the University of Missouri where she taught from 1909 to 1936, she was a graduate of Thorp Polytechnic Institute, Pasadena, held a B. S. degree from Columbia University, 1909, and an A. M. degree from the University of Missouri, 1913. Among her many activities she was founder of the Association of Childhood Education, was national president of Pi Lambda Theta, honorary education fraternity for women, 1921-1925, and president of the Missouri State Teachers Association, 1924-1925. She was the author of a number of books on education.

WILLIAM HERBERT GRAFFIS: Born in 1870 (?); died near Winamac, Ind., Mar. 11, 1952. Former publisher of the *Sedalia Sentinel* in 1900, he was also the founder of the *Terre Haute (Ind.) Tribune*. After he left Sedalia he published trade magazines in Chicago until his retirement in 1925.

BUFORD G. HAMILTON: Born near Plattsburg, Mo., Apr. 27, 1881; died in Richmond, Mo., Apr. 17, 1952. A graduate of Washington University with an M. D. degree in 1906, he was clinical professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Kansas until he retired from practice and teaching in 1945. In 1950 he was appointed by Governor Smith as director of the Missouri Division of Health.

WILLIAM HENRY LUEDDE: Born in Warsaw, Ill., Aug 13, 1876; died in St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 19, 1952. A graduate of Washington University in 1900 with two years of clinical work abroad, 1904-1906, he was director of the department of ophthalmology at St. Louis University School of Medicine from 1922 until his retirement in 1950. In 1933 he was awarded the Leslie Dana Medal for outstanding achievement in the prevention of blindness. He served on a number of boards concerned with eye diseases and had written numerous medical treatises. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

FRANKLIN MILLER: Born in Lancaster, Mo., Mar. 25, 1878; died in St. Louis, Mo., Apr. 27, 1952. A lawyer in St. Louis from 1903 to 1920, he was a graduate of the University of Missouri with an A. B. degree in 1901 and of Washington University with an LL. B. in 1903. He served as judge of the 8th circuit, 1920-1926, and as circuit attorney, 1928-1940.

BURR PRICE: Born in St. Louis, Mo., July 17, 1888; died in Scarsdale, N. Y., Mar. 18, 1952. Beginning his newspaper career as a reporter on the *St. Louis Republic*, in 1910 he went to the *New York Herald* and later became director of the Belgian Economic Press Bureau. In 1922 he was named publicity director of the League of Nations Association and wrote a book about the league, *The World Talks It Over* (1927).

PERCY WENRICH: Born in Joplin, Mo., Jan. 23, 1880; died in New York, N. Y., Mar. 17, 1952. One of America's top song writers for years, he composed such all-time favorites as "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet," "When You Wore a Tulip and I Wore a Big Red Rose," and "Sail Along, Silvery Moon." He was a charter member of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers.

JAMES C. WOODSMALL: Born in Scotland Co., Mo., Feb. 13, 1875; died in Sedalia, Mo., Jan. 20, 1952. A graduate of Missouri Valley College, he taught for several years in Saline and Scotland counties before going in the banking business in Memphis. He was a representative in the state legislature, 1933-1935 and 1937-1945, and at the time of his death was chief examiner of the state savings and loan department.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

HOW ABOUT A "DON'T BOTHER THE GOVERNOR" WEEK?

From the *Kansas City Times*, March 27, 1952.

Missouri has observed 138 special days, weeks and months since the inauguration of Gov. Forrest Smith in January, 1949 . . .

The governor carefully studies all requests for proclamations . . . So far in 1952, there have been proclamations for seven special days, three special months and four weeks. The entire year has been set aside as "Girl Scout anniversary year."

Many requests for proclamations are repeaters . . . Appeals for proclamations come from all over the world but mostly from New York and Washington. A group in Norway asked for "Leif Ericson day" and from Germany came a request for Good Neighbor week. The Czechs wanted a Jan Masaryk day and Hungarian-Americans would like a Hungarian Independence day . . .

Among previous proclamations have been Correct Posture week, Letter Writing week, Children's Dental Health day, and Beauty Salon week. Included are yearly favorites—Fire Prevention week, I Am An American day, Engineers' week, and, of course, Thanksgiving day . . .

NO WATER CYCLES?

From the *Bowling Green Times* May 8, 1890.

The rain kept the bicyclists from reaching this city Sunday. J. W. Edwards, C. S. Shephard and W. C. Adams went to Louisiana on their "wheels" to meet them. About one hundred bicyclists were in Louisiana on that day—seventy-eight from St. Louis, thirty from Quincy and some from Hannibal and other points. Harry McCormick and others had prepared to entertain them had they reached this city.

NOT EVEN A BURMA SHAVE SIGN???

From the *Franklin Missouri Intelligencer*, January 7, 1820.

Public roads in this country, instead of a convenience, have in fact become nuisances. In their present improved state, a traveller every few miles is liable to be lost, by some fork in a road *without sign boards*, or by a neighborhood track, often larger and better improved than the main road. A waggon cannot get to market with a load of pork or corn, or a family waggon pass Franklin until they unload in getting up or down the bank of some little creek.

NO CALL FOR PHILIP MORRIS

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, January 22, 1869.

SURE ANTIDOTE FOR TOBACCO

Warranted to remove all desire for Tobacco. This great remedy is an excellent appetizer and restores tone and vigor to the digestive organs. Smokers

and chewers for fifty years cured. Ladies can give it to their husbands and friends without their knowledge and destroy the desire for its use forever. Price fifty cents. Address

Charles A. C. DeWitt, Chemist
St. Louis, Mo.

WHEN EXTRA SESSIONS WEREN'T POPULAR

From *The Daily Tribune*, Jefferson City, January 7, 1881.

Lieut.-Gov. Brockmeyer read the "riot act" yesterday about the condition of the Senate chamber. There was no fire in one of the fire places because the "old chimney wouldn't draw" and the stoves in the lobby were a little off, and the whole place was cold and disagreeable. The gentlemen's remarks were appropriate and in order.

PROBABLY NO COFFEE HOUR EITHER

From *The (Clinton) Henry County Democrat*, September 14, 1916.

Whether the easy time enjoyed by the penitentiary guards had anything to do with several recent escapes or not is not known, but Warden McClung has issued an order dispensing with the comfortably upholstered rocking chairs enjoyed by the guards while on duty on the walls, and substituting instead uncomfortable stools which afford no opportunity for a tired guard to snatch seven winks of sleep.

BEFORE THE DAYS OF OLEO

From *The Daily Tribune*, Jefferson City, January 23, 1881.

The lively demonstration lately made against the manufacture and sale of bogus butter, thus far has only served to demonstrate that Lardine enters largely into the composition of the very best brands of creamery and other fancy high priced butter. It is claimed that the hog's lard after having gone through certain chemical processes . . . is just as healthy and palatable as the best butter, and cannot be detected in the bogus article . . . It is said that dairymen make no objections to it, because if the manufacture of the new commodity can be suppressed their profits will be seriously interfered with, for they make no reduction in their prices because of the adulteration with Lardine.

AN IDEA FOR THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

From *The Mirror*, St. Louis, July 28, 1898.

. . . I think that the [railroad] tunnel is a nuisance that leads to another institution that is a blight upon the city—the Union Station. That is a beautiful structure and it is a great comfort to travelers but it utterly deprives St. Louis of a transient population. It is designed to prevent any person staying in this city unless he has to. The trains make such close connections that the traveling public, for the most part, never gets a view of the city. Everybody is shot through the town and the city makes about as much impression upon ninety-nine out of one hundred travelers . . . as if it were a water-tank station . . .

If people had to cross the town to get from one train to another,—there would be ten fine hotels in St. Louis where there are at present about four [and] there would be more business for retail dealers in the heart of the city. The Union Station is a great benefit to the traveling public, but what is it to St. Louis?

PERSONALITY OF AN ARTIST, A MISSOURI YOUTH WHO BECAME FAMOUS

From *The Mexico Evening Ledger*, July 22, 1948. Excerpts from a letter written by Mrs. Frances Cook Digges of Columbia, formerly of Mexico, giving a first hand story of the personality and character of William Merritt Chase, one of America's great artists who spent most of his youth in Mexico.

. . . I had the good fortune to be one of Mr. Chase's pupils on his annual European trip in 1913. At that time he rated at the top among American artists . . . His appearance was most striking—not tall, but with his white hair and goatee, his keen eyes behind pinchnez, his immaculate grooming, he was a figure to be remembered. He always wore white linen suits, a white Panama hat, white shoes and his white ties were slipped through an antique ring. These rings were his particular hobby, he had over four hundred of them. Some priceless and very beautiful, which he had collected on his various European trips. And he carried a slender cane which, we came to know, was quite an adjunct in his lectures and criticisms in pointing out errors and very occasionally a word of praise. On his watch chain was a ball which when opened showed the pictures of his eight children.

. . . Mr. Chase . . . took us to all the museums and commented on the pictures, especially the ones he considered best and why. I recall when we came to Titian's "The Man With The Glove" he stopped and said, "That is worth crossing the ocean to see . . ." He considered the portrait of Pope Innocent X the finest portrait ever painted and I felt that to be true of all I had seen.

Of Mr. Chase's own pictures, his portraits, I believe, rank first. His fish studies, however, have never been equalled, and these show his remarkable handling of iridescent colors. His pictures hang in most of the better galleries in this country. You can see "Carmencita" in New York's Metropolitan, "Alice" (his daughter) in the Art Institute of Chicago, in St. Louis a fine example of his favorite fish, and many others. In the Uffizzi Gallery he is one of the three American artists shown there. The other two are Whistler and Sargent.

He had a big studio and on Monday mornings we went there for criticism . . . His comments were caustic and often caused near tears but no one questioned that he knew his art . . . Mr. Chase was sixty or over then. He died not many years later [1916] and America lost one of her really great painters.

MISSOURI RIVER IMPROVEMENT SCHEME, 1824

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, January 13, 1824.

The subject of internal improvements will no doubt occupy the serious consideration of congress at their present session . . . Missouri . . . has claims which require their attention and which it is the interest of the nation to grant.

We mean an appropriation to remove the obstructions to the Navigation of the Missouri River . . .

The annual swell in the Missouri river is from 20 to 30 feet, and commences with the spring, reaching its greatest height about the middle of June or the 1st of July; this swell is a series of lesser floods, following each other in rapid succession, as to prevent each from subsiding until the great result is produced—Nor does it lose its majesty, its turbulence, or its power in a day, a week or a month, as other rivers do—but, as in spring, succeeding swells raised the waters nearly level with the banks, by which it is confined; so with the receding year, it sinks by degrees, until December's snow and January's frost bind it in ice. In the months of January and February it is always lowest. A small appropriation, say twenty or thirty thousand dollars would be enough to cut off all the sawyers and planters in the river, from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas, level with or below the ice—the first swell which is about the first of March would remove the obstructions thus cut off, and give sufficient water above the stumps to make navigation safe.

We do not recollect to have conversed with any pretending to a knowledge of the river who deny the practicability of the plan. But by some it is objected that other sawyers would be continually forming.

It will be recollected, that the losses which have happened on the river, have chiefly been occasioned by the strong current setting on piles of drift, lodged in bends and generally kept from moving off by standfasts or planters—if these planters were cut away, the drift and danger would disappear together. Let it be recollected that one obstruction causes another . . .

BETHEL COLONY'S WESTERN TREK

From the Shelbyville *Shelby County Herald*, May 23, 1951.

May 23, 1855—a big day for the Bethel colony—the day of departure for the first wagon train west.

Thirty-five "covered wagons" stood in the streets; ox teams yoked and ready. Two hundred and fifty men, women, and children said good-by to friends and relatives.

Dr. William Keil, founder of the little "communitistic" community, gave the starting signal . . . [The caravan] differed from the others in at least one way. At its head was a hearse containing the body of Keil's 19-year-old son, Willie, in an alcohol-filled iron casket.

It is an old story in Shelby County—how Willie wrung a promise from his father to be among the first to go across the plains; how he fell sick and died on the eve of the train's departure; how Dr. Keil first planned to carry the sick boy in a makeshift ambulance; how the ambulance became a hearse . . .

The move west had been planned a long time. Nine of the colony members were sent west by Keil in 1853 to hunt land for a new settlement. They took up claims on the Willapa River in the Pacific Northwest.

They made about fifteen miles a day when the going was good . . . Keil did not find the prairies as grim as pictured.

"I find everything different on the plains than I was told I would," Keil wrote at the end of a quiet journey from Fort Kearney to Laramie. "On the whole there is more wood on the plains than most people have in Europe . . .

I have lived just as I used to at home. So far, this side of the Platte we had our spinach every day. From Kearney to Laramie, we had currant and gooseberry pies that were better than we had in Missouri."

Beyond Fort Laramie, the prospects were gloomy . . .

The Indians . . . did not trouble the party . . . At length the wagons rested on the west bank of the Green. An Indian rode into camp. Keil did not hold with the then-popular belief that an Indian was a species of vermin. He fed his guest and sent him on his way . . . Keil made use of the policy of soothing the savage stomach and tobacco pouch. His wagon train was allowed to go on its way toward Fort Boise unmolested . . .

Joining his people on the Willapa, Keil decided that the land was not suitable. He trekked into what is now Oregon and found better country. At Aurora the Bethel party laid out their fields, built their houses and settled down to work . . .

Willie's journey ended on the Willapa River, on the claim of Mr. and Mrs. Christian Giesy . . . On December 26, 1855 . . . the hearse made its last trip to a small cemetery now between Menlo and Ramond, Wash., and Willie was buried with elaborate ceremony . . .

The Aurora colony prospered as had the Bethel and Ninevah groups. However, it prospered under the leadership of one man. When Dr. Keil died on Dec. 30, 1877, the end was near . . . In 1878, the Bethel, Aurora, and Nipevah colonies slipped into oblivion.

APPLE BLOSSOM TIME

From *The Liberty Advance*, January 26, 1948. Excerpts from an article by Robert S. Withers.

One of the first things with which the pioneer concerned himself was an orchard . . . From it he got the delectable cider and the vinegar with which he was able to preserve much food and which was a sure preventive of scurvy.

During . . . Indian Summer the housewife was busy peeling and slicing the apples for drying . . . They were eaten stewed and in pies and nothing more delectable has ever been concocted than the fried "turn-over" dried apple pie . . .

For the lighter, gayer hours the housewife always had set a way . . . a jar or two of brandied peaches and apples . . .

And last . . . was apple butter making. It always required a lot of help and the women . . . in the neighborhood . . . all got together and gossiped while their nimble fingers fluttered over the apple peelings or slowly shoved the long stirring paddle back and forth through the lazily bubbling apple butter.

. . . It frequently happened that the orchard was planted before the house was built.

. . . No article concerning the orchards of Clay county would be complete without mentioning the sugar pear and the Indian peach. They both seemed to have arrived with the first wave of pioneers.

These pears were small, but . . . exceedingly sweet . . . There are some . . . still standing that are over a century old. They are still bearing and . . . have seldom failed to bear. The popularity of the Indian peach was that the meat was red clear through. It was a cling-stone and matured late in the

fall . . . It was always chosen by the pioneer women for peach pickles because its scarlet color showed well in the finished delicacy.

In the earliest years apples were kept by simply digging a hole in the ground and covering the apples first with leaves then bark or stones and then the earth.

Apples that were . . . hard and sour in the fall . . . would become as sweet as sugar and they would become so soft and mellow that they would frequently burst open. This gave them a superior flavor that is acquired in no other way.

. . . [The orchardist] had as his worst enemy the cottontail rabbit and in lieu of the paper wrapper or the steel wire wrapper of today the pioneer shot a rabbit and split the body open and rubbed the trees with the inside of the rabbit. One or two applications during the winter was always enough to save the trees.

. . . The pioneer orchardist always selected . . . some long inner blades of corn shucks and kept on hand some home made beeswax . . . He soaked his strips . . . in warm water and after he had placed the bud in its new home he wrapped it carefully and tied it fast and neatly with his strip of shuck then painted the tie with warm beeswax, leaving nature to do the rest.

The pioneer orchard was not beset with any of the pests of modern times. The trees lived on an average of 25 to 35 years and practically every apple attained perfection. All the pioneer had to do was to plant the tree and prune it in the Spring . . . I do not know of any records that were kept but as I remember a small orchard would produce a carload.

. . . I do not know when the first traveling nursery salesmen began to serve Clay county, but it must have been at an early date. Our largest old pine trees are "Austrian pines." Many of them are 100 years old and all of them were sold by traveling salesmen . . .

"A JEWEL FOR MY DAUGHTER . . . IN MEMORY OF ME."

From the *Kansas City Star*, October 13, 1951. Extracts from an article by Mary Paxton Keeley.

At the turn of the century anyone who lived around Kansas City, if asked who was the best known Missouri poet, would . . . have said Arthur Grissom, an Independence boy . . . Yet today Grissom is almost forgotten.

. . . His volume of society verse, "Beaux and Belles," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1896, turns up from time to time in secondhand book stores . . . To the reader of today . . . the poems in "Beaux and Belles" are interesting . . . as social history . . .

Arthur Grissom grew up in Independence, where his family moved after his father's retirement from the ministry. He was the pride of his teachers at Woodland college there and they encouraged him . . . to set out for the New York of O. Henry to seek his fortune as a writer.

Before he left, he met Julia Woods, the only daughter of the millionaire banker, Dr. W. S. Woods, who had little liking for poets. In New York, . . . the Independence boy did well . . .

Julia Woods was sent to Monticello for a year and then came home to make a spectacular debut. Then, when she had been out two years, the society editor of the *Star* printed the announcement of her engagement to

Archie RoBards of Hannibal . . . Julia set out for New York with her mother to gather up the items . . . for the trousseau . . .

On that lovely May morning on Fifth avenue, whether by prearrangement or not, she met her old flame, Arthur Grissom. They were so glad to see each other that he bought her violets and took her to lunch down on Washington square. Before the day ended, they were standing before the chancel of the Little Church Around the Corner being married.

When a daughter was born of this marriage, Dr. Woods could stand no longer having his daughter so far from him; he talked his son-in-law into moving to Kansas City and having a go at banking . . . So Arthur . . . did try banking but the poet found banking as detestable as the banker found poetry . . . So he quit the bank . . .

Arthur's desertion of the bank may have caused a quarrel with Julia . . . Julia went home with the baby . . . [and] filed suit for divorce. Arthur Grissom sued his father-in-law for alienation and breach of contract. The suit . . . was settled out of court for \$18,000.

After the settlement Arthur went back to New York with his cousin, Sam Ragland, to found the Smart Set . . . [which] boomed from the first . . . Grissom accepted the first short story of O. Henry's to be printed . . . Launched on his career as editor of the cleverest magazine in this country, . . . Arthur Grissom died December 4, 1901, of typhoid fever . . . He was 31.

The New York Tribune published his will in which he left all his property to his aging parents except \$100 to be used "for the purchase of a jewel to be bought for my daughter Gladys Woods Grissom when she is 18 in memory of me."

JESSE JAMES WAS BOB FORD'S "MARKED" MAN

From *The Kansas City Times*, August 3, 1948. Excerpts from an article by Mrs. Leone Ford Ross from an interview with Mrs. Amanda Ford Seigel, five years before her death in 1945 at the age of 90. Mrs. Seigel was Bob Ford's sister.

. . . From the time he came to Missouri when he was seven [1869], Bob seemed obsessed with the idea of capturing Jesse James. Everybody was discussing the \$60,000 bank robbery, and the murder of young George Wymore at Liberty, which was known to be the work of the James gang. All this added fuel to Bob's childish mind and while the rest of us were riding stick horses and playing hide and seek, he would be imagining that he was a detective hunting the dreaded Jesse . . .

Before her marriage, Uncle Will Ford's wife had been Artelia Cummings . . . sister of Jim Cummings, a member of the James gang. One day Jesse took it into his head to kill Jim and went to Uncle Will's looking for him. There was no one at home except [Cousin] Albert and Jesse tried to make him tell where Cummings was . . . Jesse carried him off into the woods, tied him to a tree and built a fire. He would heat sticks of wood and hold them on Albert's bare body, threatening him with death if he did not disclose his uncle's hiding place. Finally, satisfying himself that [Albert didn't know], Jesse mounted his horse and rode away. Albert was almost dead when found.

If Bob had despised the James before, his hatred now knew no bounds. He was 17 . . . My brother, Charlie, slightly older than Bob, had met Jesse at

dances, liked him, and like many another Clay countian, simply refused to believe the things he heard. Contrary to popular opinion he was never with Jesse on any of his raids. Charlie and Bob would argue about the James for hours, but after the attack on Albert, Charlie was won over to his brother's side. From that day his hatred for Jesse was just as deep, but he was terribly afraid of him, whereas Bob was afraid of nobody on earth.

By 1882 . . . [Bob] talked Mattie [his sister, Mrs. Mattie Bolton] into going to Jefferson City to present his ideas on the capture to the governor . . . The governor was enthusiastic over Bob's plans . . .

Charlie . . . located Jesse living under an assumed name in St. Joseph. Jesse responded to an invitation to visit Charlie in Mattie's home in Richmond and there, ten days before his death, he was introduced to Bob Ford. Charlie told him he had decided to take him up on his many offers to join the gang, and asked if he would have Bob too . . .

[Jesse declined at first but] after thinking it over said that Bob might come along . . . After arriving in St. Joe, Jesse was not long in planning the robbery of a large Iowa bank . . . Finally everything was arranged and the gang was to ride the next midnight.

On the afternoon of the fatal day, April 3, 1882, Charlie and Bob decided to stroll down to the postoffice for the newspapers. As they walked home Bob unfolded the Jefferson City Daily which Jesse always read with much interest. There on the front page were the screaming headlines, "Ford Boys Planning To Capture Jesse James." . . .

Charlie was panic-stricken, but Bob quickened his steps, marched back to the James home and shot Jesse while he was dusting a picture.

[Generally accepted accounts of the killing of Jesse James agree that the killing took place soon after breakfast in the morning and that neither Charlie nor Bob Ford had left the premises on the morning Jesse was killed. There is no evidence to substantiate the claim that Charlie and Bob saw such a headline in the Jefferson City paper as Mrs. Seigel relates.]

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA FOUND IN MAGAZINES

Bulletin: Missouri Historical Society, April: "The Kingdom of Callaway," by Ovid Bell; "Dr. Aaron J. Steele," by Corinne Steele Hall; "Judge Matthias McGirk," by Charles van Ravenswaay; "Mackey Wherry," by his grandchildren—Maggie M., William M., Joseph A., and John M. Wherry.

Colliers, February 9: "Riddle of Mrs. Truman," by H. W. Erskine.

Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March: "Elizabeth Benton (Kansas City, Mo.);" [chapter].

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Spring: "Sol Smith Russell, Actor from Jacksonville," by Bertha K. Mason.

Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, December: "Home Mission Changes in Missouri," by John B. Hill.

The Junior Historian [Texas], March: "Frank Dalton or Jesse James," by Sue Looney.

Mid-America, April: "Gunboat Personnel on the Western Waters," by Charles B. Hirsch.

Museum Graphic, Winter: "Steamboats," by Bartlett Boder.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly, March: "Belated Census of Earliest Settlers of Cape Girardeau County, Missouri," compiled by Rev. Wm. J. Gammon.

Nebraska History, March: "De Smet's Illustrator: Father Nicolas Point," by John Francis McDermott.

Theatre Arts, March: "Two Famous Daughters" [Margaret Truman and Sarah Churchill], by Leota Diesel.

Time, February 25: "Retail Trade: The General's General Store" [on General Robert E. Wood.]

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THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JOHN B. BOWEN
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
IN TWO VOLUMES
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